



Interior of Kilmore Cathedral.

THE
ENGLISH CATHEDRAL
OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.A., D.C.L.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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TO
THE PRESIDENT,
COMMITTEE, AND MEMBERS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY,
AT WHOSE REQUEST
THE LECTURE WAS GIVEN
ON WHICH
THE FOLLOWING WORK
IS FOUNDED.

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g. Dr Chas. W. ...

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

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A CATHEDRAL is, as every one knows who has thought ever so little upon the matter, both a building and an institution. As a building it is supposed to fulfil certain architectural and artistic conditions, and as an institution to carry out certain religious and charitable objects. It follows from this double nature of a cathedral that the subject of "Cathedral extension" in England—a subject which has within the last thirty years occupied no inconsiderable portion of public attention, and which is not likely in the years to come to lose its importance—is in one aspect an architectural and in the other a social question, according as the building or the institution fills the more prominent place in the inquirer's mind. But in this, as in every other mixed question, it is neither

possible nor desirable so wholly to void either nature of the presence of the other as to leave it open to treat of the architectural cathedral without some reference to its practical uses, or to point to those uses without treating of the building in which they are embodied. Unfortunately, however, the cathedral question has never yet been handled in England with a sufficiently comprehensive regard to its two phases, numerous as are the publications to which it has given rise. It has been taken up by the professed architect or architectural critic, and he has of course dwelt upon technical considerations of a structural or artistic character; or else it has been treated by the ecclesiastical or social reformer without a sufficient appreciation of the necessity incumbent on him to show how his theories are to be materially worked out. I am very far from laying claim to any pretensions of adequately supplying the deficiency when I call attention to the English cathedral of the nineteenth century. All that I desire is hastily to skim the surface of a reservoir which I know to be as deep as it is wide. Still I venture to vindicate my treatment of the topic not by inviting the indulgence of my readers, but by alleging the demands of its own nature, which is at once architectural and social. I shall in fact do for my subject what the author of a treatise advocating the increase of any other class of public buildings, such as theatres or banking-houses, might be expected to do for his—namely, prove in the first instance that there was a public call for more of those institutions, and in the

second place consider in what that call consisted so far as it led to those peculiar arrangements and fittings which give to the theatre or to the banking-house its own constructional identity. If he failed in the first branch of this argument, he would stultify all that he might say under the second head, for he would leave himself open to the retort that he was spinning a set of fanciful rules for the creation of a useless and expensive institution. If he left off at the first stage, he would have done nothing towards solving the all-important question whether there were sufficient buildings actually in existence, and able to serve for theatres or banking-houses. No doubt, in much of what I have to say, I may appear to the mere student of tracery and mouldings to be travelling out of the record; while at other times I may be set down as dwelling too strongly on technical and material considerations by the professed "sociologist." But I do not address these pages exclusively to the architect or to the sociologist, but to all those who feel interested in making up their minds, either for artistic or social reasons, whether more cathedrals are really wanted for the religious advantage of the people, and if so, how these cathedrals had best be provided.

It must not, however, be supposed, because the point of view from which I take my general survey stands rather within the limits of the architectural ground, that I consider this the more important aspect of the matter, as if the body existed for the raiment and not the raiment for the body. The reason for this treatment is simply that this book is

founded upon a lecture delivered at an architectural congress, in which of course good taste required that I should dwell most fully upon architectural considerations. Having been by the kindness of my auditory invited to publish what I had delivered, I conceived it most respectful to them and to my subject-matter to recast my views in a fuller and more mature shape than that in which I had presented them at Cambridge, and to enlarge on several topics to which I then did no more than allude. At the same time I have thought it equally incumbent on me not absolutely to destroy the identity of that lecture, but to adhere to the general distribution of the various questions as therein handled.

In following out my argument I am conscious that my footsteps will often have to pass, as lightly as may be,

per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso

of past or present architectural controversies. But I shall avoid the other risk of having to entertain any of those much-vexed theological and ecclesiastical disputes, which show, by the very vehemence with which they are waged, how much of earnestness there is in the English character of the present day. All that I shall have to say will be based upon one simple fact, and upon one simple deduction from it. The fact is, that episcopal regimen (of which the cathedral is not indeed an essential, but a most desirable and important element) has existed in the national Church of England from the first day on which

Christianity was preached in this island down to the present moment. The deduction is, that, if that regimen ought to continue, its continuance ought to be made profitable to the nation by adapting the number and distribution of bishoprics to the increase of the national population. I shall hold myself absolved from having to offer any preliminary definition of what I mean by a cathedral when I say that the public whom I address are all those persons who have formed a rational idea of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, and who therefore need not be told that those buildings contain a choir for the chapter and choir (and in the first-named church for the bishop) to sit in, and for the performance of the ordinary service, and a nave sometimes empty and sometimes employed for sermons and extra services, while architecturally they also possess transepts, aisles, a central lantern, and other features which it is not needful now to recapitulate.

Westminster Abbey is a quasi-cathedral of the thirteenth, and St. Paul's an actual one of the seventeenth century, while the idea which I propose to develop is that of the English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century. In adopting this title, I desire that every word in it should be taken in an absolute and exclusive sense. The building and the institution are to be a Cathedral as distinct from and opposed to a parish church and its organization; they are to be English—English, that is, both nationally and ecclesiastically—as distinct from and opposed to foreign; and, last but not least, they are to be of the nineteenth century, as distinct from and opposed to one of any earlier age.

Keeping these limitations steadily in view, I shall endeavour to show not only that there are distinctively such buildings in posse as English cathedrals of the nineteenth century, but that there are good practical reasons why they should be built; while I shall in the second place suggest certain data of size, character, and arrangement, which ought, in my judgment, to regulate the architectural construction both of the churches themselves and of the accessory buildings.

In explanation of the opinion that the circumstances of the age call for additional cathedrals, I venture to republish a letter which I addressed with my own name to *The Times* in December, 1857, under the title of 'The Work of the Church among the Millions,' at the time when public feeling was much excited by that prohibition, on the part of a parish clergyman, of the organized preaching in Exeter Hall, which so happily led to the institution of the Special Services at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Nothing has subsequently occurred which modifies in any serious point the opinions which I have there expressed; and I do not think that I could now more successfully compress my meaning into any other brief statement. I need hardly observe that the necessary limits of a communication to a newspaper compelled me to claim the admission of facts or inferences which in any other form of composition I should have demonstrated at more or less length.

"Various circumstances—Mr. Spurgeon's crowded following, the counter-move at Exeter Hall, Mr. Edouart's prohibition, and the consequent opening of Westminster Abbey,

and Bill of Lord Shaftesbury's—have, each in its way, for the few last months arrested the attention of serious-minded men upon the yet unsolved problem of the evangelization of our teeming town populations. Permit me to contribute my quota of suggestions, offered in no polemic spirit, but with the desire of aiding in the attainment of that end which is common to the representatives of every side, however much they may in Christian sincerity, and I hope I may add in Christian charity, differ as to the means.

“The mistake, as it seems to me, of those who have hitherto taken up the question has been that they have not handled it either deeply or broadly enough; the controversy has run upon the comparative merits of this or that locality—the Abbey and the Music-hall—or upon the conflicting authorities of such limited exhibitions of majesty as a voluntary committee or a perpetual curate. In the mean while the great fact is forgotten that in this country there does exist, and has for centuries existed, a corporation for the very purpose which these isolated efforts inadequately attempt to cover,—a corporation conterminous in its limits with the boundaries of England itself, and possessing the twofold exchequer of large hereditary possessions and a perpetual flow of voluntary contributions. Granting to Lord Shaftesbury, and granting to the Dean of Westminster, that the voice of the preacher must be raised to the millions of London, I go on to say that it is alike cruel upon the peer and upon the dignitary to leave the work to the isolated exertions of the bodies whom they represent. Still more do I insist that the provisions of the Bill before the House of Lords, dealing, as they do, with nothing beyond a little greater liberty of amateur, unsystematized exertion, are a wholly inadequate solution of an all-important problem. Either the Church of England does or it does not possess the germinating principle in its corporate constitution. Belonging as I do to that communion, I believe the affirm-

ative, and I therefore request your attention to the question whether or not that corporate constitution, developed according to the circumstances of the times, may afford a remedy for our spiritual famine more adequate to the case than individual palliatives, however carefully seasoned.

“The Church of England is episcopal, and it is established. The former attribute concentrates the staff who regulate, and that main body for whose welfare the staff itself exists, into certain groups called dioceses, under a head called bishop, the modification of the Greek word for overseer. Thus the episcopal aspect of the church is that of aggregation. But it is also established; and a main characteristic of this establishment is, that it distributes the regulating staff, ‘seizing’ them respectively of certain freehold rights (regulated on the general principles of all real property), over the spiritual concerns of definite circumscriptions, called parishes. The establishment phase of the church is therefore disjunctive. The origin of the diocese and that of the parish lie equally on the surface of church history. In the early centuries of Christianity, in the days alike of persecution and of early prosperity, when converts were chiefly made in the town, and the old heathendom clung to the country until *paganus* (villager) became the appellative of Jupiter’s long obstinate votary, the diocese was all in all. Each town had its bishop or overseer, with his staff of presbyters under him. Each bishop had at least one place of worship in that town, containing his chair or ‘cathedra,’ and therefore called his cathedral church. If the town was large and the faithful numerous, other churches or chapels depended on this cathedral church, served by its staff under the bishop’s orders. The scattered converts in the ‘pagan’ outskirts were looked after by the occasional and itinerant ministrations of individuals of this staff. At last, within the precincts of the old Roman empire, the village obstinacy gave way, and the faith began to spread in northern regions, where the towns were

rare and small. Changed circumstances were wisely kept pace with by changed arrangements. Individual presbyters were located in country stations while the bishop combined to invest them with definite and delegated spiritual jurisdiction, and the civil power to confirm them in their position by the assurances of support and the realities of landed endowment. So the parish grew up as something subordinate to the diocese, the two terms having been originally synonymous. The difference was, that the very notion of episcopacy involved the existence of dioceses while it did not involve that of parishes, which rely upon subsequently-conceded rights based on constitutional convenience. Speaking for myself as an episcopalian, I should say that the perfect constitution for the Christian Church would have been the equipoise of the diocesan (or cathedral) and the parochial systems. The towns would have exhibited the high-pressure activity which co-operation always produces in the overseer directing, and yet mitigated by, his staff of coadjutors; some adapted to and great in one branch of the clerical office—others in another; this man a stirring preacher in the church—that one persuasive in the house of mourning or of sin; the third a careful and wise steward of the charities intrusted to their ministrations; the fourth the patient and winning instructor of youth. In the rural districts, where the work and the means were alike smaller, one man, responsible to his bishop, and yet not removable for mere caprice or without due trial, would perform the various duties of his office, either single-handed, if his parish were small, or with that assistance in a larger one which would render it *pro tanto* a miniature of the central cathedral. Why is this picture a dream? The reasons are various, but chief among them are these:—Dioceses remained too large, and even the best of bishops, in consequence, too much forgot their direct pastoral interest in every member of their whole flock, and acted as if their duty began and ended with the governance

of the clergy alone. In time accordingly the very office of bishop itself grew into temporal dignity to the loss of its spiritual perfection, and the primitive 'over-seer' stiffened into the Elector of Trèves or a Cardinal Beaufort. Contemporaneously the cathedral clergy, put at a distance by the bishop, retaliated by setting up extravagant claims of independent authority and special immunities of their own, fatal to their continuing to act with and under them for the common work of evangelization. Then, the large towns, even those which contained cathedrals, felt themselves destitute of the advantages of such institutions, and the gap was filled up in them by the institution of the parochial system in all its rural inflexibility.

"The result, which commenced in the early middle ages, and which is still in full operation here, as on the continent, is that our cathedrals have not kept pace with the running. The Established Church of England numbers millions of members, and yet the cathedrals are less than 30, and many of them stand in small towns. Into the condition of the cathedral clergy themselves during, at all events, the last and the earliest part of the present century, I do not enter. Both in them and in our bishops the standard is decidedly raised. Good and bad together, cathedral clergy and bishops, act from different views of duty to what their predecessors, good and bad together, acted in 1757; and, different as the object of these cathedrals may be from that which influenced the creation of primitive dioceses with their head church and their bishop, yet the modern cathedral plays an important part in a church of educated men by affording a retreat to that smaller but indispensable branch of the clergy which has to keep alive the functions of reading and of thinking, while their less gifted but more robust brethren are working.

"Accordingly I do not propose to touch the framework of our actual cathedrals in smaller towns. Much may be said about it on both sides, which there is not time to discuss at

present. Our work to-day is with the centres of population. There existing means of grace have, by the testimony alike of Churchman and of Dissenter, broken down and proved inadequate. The fact is undoubted, while the explanations and the remedies are various. For my own part, as a Churchman, I do not hesitate to say that the Church has lost its ground by relying on the parochial system and on that alone. It must recover the advantages it has forfeited, not by drawing the reins of that system tighter, not by multiplying small, ill-paid, perpetual curacies and little mean churches among our teeming alleys, not by manning those churches with isolated sentinels, destined one after the other to succumb to the very physical pressure of the surrounding multitudes, not by encouraging the spasmodic exertions of the delegates of volunteer committees,—it must gravely and unitedly return to the better pattern of early Christendom, to that system which successively won Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome to the faith of the Crucified. The parochial system must abdicate exclusive rights, and act in subordination to that common-sense law of co-partnery which was the informing spirit of the primitive cathedral. Every town of above a certain cipher of population ought to have its one head clergyman, who should preside over the evangelization of the whole community. There is a name 1800 years old for such head clergyman, and it stands to reason that he had better assume it, and be entitled Bishop. The mode of paying his stipend is not within my present consideration, further than to observe that, as I do not contemplate his being a Bishop of Parliament, he will go far towards making out his endowment by the income and the parsonage of that rector or vicar of the principal church in the town whose place he would fill. Exchanges of patronage would easily bring all such livings into bearing. Here we have the head,—where are the members of the regulating body? First would come that association whom, in accordance with precedent, I would

name the Chapter, viz., the immediate aides-de-camp of our bishops, whose office it would be to perform the duties which the Exeter Hall preachers have undertaken, and others besides, to which I shall have to refer presently. These men would also compose the bishop's ordinary advisers. Secondly would rank the parish incumbents, sacred in their position, but holding it on terms of direct reference to the bishop, and of mutual co-operation in the good work, involving joint consultation. Thirdly come the *locale* of their organization. On this head I need not insist. The largest church in the town would be of course dubbed cathedral, and, if there was none large enough, in this church-building age, under the attraction of the new system, a building sufficiently spacious, however cheap and plain, would soon be erected. In smaller though still populous towns a scheme of mutual co-operation would have to be organized, moulded on that of the cathedral towns, but differing from it in not being headed by a local bishop.

“ Now, let this machinery be at work, and then under such a system the sermon at the local Westminster Abbey and the local Exeter Hall would be equally regular. On one occasion practical considerations would prompt the choice of one place, and on another the selection might be different. The preacher would sometimes be one of the staff, at others a stranger invited by the bishop or chapter; occasions of worship, no less than of preaching, would be multiplied. But there would be a duty on the part of the chapter even more important than preaching the sermons—that of whipping up the congregations to them. Merely opening Exeter Hall or Westminster Abbey no more insures the presence of those for whom the sermons would be most useful, than opening Drury-lane would attract the people who either do not care for or who object to the drama. Zealous churchgoers naturally flock to the Abbey or the Hall, as zealous playgoers flock to the theatre; but the real work of con-

version goes on from house to house and from chamber to chamber, and this is the function of an associate body mutually sustaining, counselling, and cheering each other. The external manifestations of schools, charitable associations, libraries, lectures, and so forth would of course cluster about the cathedral and form a portion of its work. But I cannot afford to run into details.

“Such a cathedral and such a bishop will be on the face of things a practical nineteenth century affair, and I cannot for a moment conceive that the vague suspicions and dislike which attach to those names in many minds which have only contemplated the existing system, and at a distance, will long stand out against the realities of Christian evangelization, of which they will become the symbol.

“I do not, of course, flatter myself with the hope that a plan, such as I have sketched, can be completely carried out at once; but the first step may be taken at any time, and those outlines traced which time and circumstance must fill in. At the worst, it would be better to face the evil with a scheme complete in its general features, though partial in its first operations from the very extent of that completeness, than with propositions which must from first to last be partial, from the unsystematic character, the limited area, and the uncertain operation of the relief which they proffer. If crime and violence are rampant, it is time to enact some law of general police, although the policeman may not at the instant be forthcoming, while it would seem but trifling with the emergency to pass a short Act permitting those who liked it to act occasionally when they liked it, and no longer than they liked it, as special constables. Indeed, an organization such as I have indicated would be hardly more difficult or expensive, if rightly undertaken, than that of the new constabulary force which our counties have been most justly compelled to adopt. The difference would be, that while the police is chargeable on all who pay the rate, the church

extension would have to be defrayed out of the existing revenues of the Church of England and that private liberality of its members which if appealed to boldly never fails to answer cheerfully."

It will be seen from this sketch, upon which I shall have to enlarge in the course of the volume, that the cathedral extension for which I plead occupies a position different from that church extension which has for a generation past engaged the best energies and prospered on the unstinted liberality of so many of England's worthiest children. But I flatter myself that it will be accepted as the complement, and not the antagonist, of that movement. It is possible that the cause in whose behalf I urge my plea may seem to many persons a task too difficult for practical success, if not absolutely a visionary idea. But I am convinced that in 1861 I am really taking a far less bold stand than I should have done had I written in 1811 and urged the necessity of the next half-century accomplishing one quarter of what has since been effected in the way of church and school extension. When we consider the condition of spiritual destitution to which the combined action of a rapidly increasing population and an unelastic law of parochial subdivision and endowment had reduced England at the commencement of the century, and compare it with the activity which characterises in various measures almost every part of the Church at the present day, we can only exclaim, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." But it would be a foolish and hurtful optimism to suppose that the

actual system was the complete panacea for all the spiritual wants of the nation. Excellent as the parochial system is in so many ways, it yet must tend, if unmodified by other agencies, to a disjunctive and separatist, rather than a co-operative and harmonising order of things. The church with its incumbent, the school with its teacher, are admirable, each in its own sphere; but if neither of them is to be drawn upwards in itself, nor towards its own similarly-placed neighbour, by the proximity of some more exalted exemplar, each will be apt to trail upon the ground within a limited circle. If there is no harmonising principle at work to blend the local idiosyncrasies of each little centre, every such small community will be apt to become a law to itself in defiance of its neighbours, or else to lose heart and energy from the absence of that encouragement which a superior and regulating organization can alone afford. I need no further proof of my position than the practical working of that well-known measure of ecclesiastical reform, Sir Robert Peel's Act. This act was passed to remedy an order of things which called for legislation, and it has proved in many respects a blessing to the Church of England. Greater facilities were unquestionably needed for the subdivision of parishes than already existed, and these the act provided upon the broad and intelligible principle, then for the first time admitted into our Parliamentary legislation for ecclesiastical matters, that the creation of the cure of souls was of more importance than the completion of the material fabric, and that the new autonomy

ought therefore to date from the endowment of the incumbent and not from the building of the church. That Sir Robert Peel's Act has however proved an unmingled blessing, no man, unconnected with the Ecclesiastical Commission, would, I should think, be bold enough to asseverate. The week's contents of the waste-paper basket of any person supposed to be bountiful towards church purposes would give the most complete and pointed reply to such an assertion. There are in truth few more melancholy records of difficulty and privation, manfully I believe and Christianly borne up against as the general rule, than that interminable series of circulars, printed and lithographed, by incumbents of destitute Peel districts which are ever passing and repassing through the post-office. The same story with a few variations runs through them all. The church is either unbuilt, and Divine Service performed in some wretched, pestilential, unsuitable hole, or else it has been built with a debt which is breaking the backs of all who have taken part in that good work. Then comes in the regular reference to the church-rate, and we are either informed that the rate has been refused for years past, as the new church stands in a populous place, or else it is levied for the benefit of the mother-church, and the new institution gets nothing at all, or much less than its right proportion. Then there is no school, or the school also is insolvent, while the incumbent finds himself reduced to that most painful and detrimental of acts—namely, to proclaim the personal indigence of a gentleman and often of a gentle-

woman to the ears of strangers. In the mean while the poverty-stricken district cannot be effectively worked even in proportion to the means which it has scraped together. A morning spent in posting urgent appeals even in behalf of God's house is a bad preparation for preaching God's word in that house. Besides, the single-handed clergyman is physically unable to work his natural resources to the uttermost. The best head and the best lungs must often flag under the incessant physical fatigue of public ministrations in a populous district carried on without change or assistance. The clergyman soon discovers that his public services, drawn from a jaded and insufficient source, are becoming vapid and forced, and he feels that the attendance runs the risk of speedy diminution. If we add to this the wear and tear of home visiting and such ministrations, the toil of keeping up the schools, and the petty harassing details of clubs and other miscellaneous calls upon the clergyman's time and energy, we cannot hesitate to own that the underpaid and unassisted minister of a Peel district in a town, who tries to do his duty, stands in a false and impossible position, and that his success or failure is no criterion of the real strength of the Church of England if properly set in motion. The evil is increasing day by day; and if the religious world is not timely wise, there may some day be a terrible crash and collapse of character and influence, not to say a general catastrophe of material reverses. The Church is on its trial in more ways than one in the Peel parishes, for in no long time the authorities will

find that it is impossible to persuade men of education and proved character, such as the ideal Church-of-England clergyman ought to be, to shipwreck fortune, health, and usefulness in whirlpools so obscure and so repulsive as the bankrupt districts; and the result must be that we shall find a body of clergymen without education or social standing foisted into the ministry as stopgaps for the destitute localities. I need not say how grievous a misfortune both to Church and State would be this deterioration of the clerical standard. The evil may perhaps take the form of there growing up two castes of clergymen: one will be the incumbents of vicarages and rectories, men of education, influence, and social standing, out of whom dignitaries will be ordinarily chosen—and the other will be the incumbents of district churches, “literate” who enter holy orders without a reasonable hope of any better material position, and all whose associations, social and professional, will tend to keep them apart, in an attitude of ignorant and dissatisfied hostility, both from the gentry and the university-bred incumbents of the old parishes. If this state of things should unhappily come about, we shall see in England the repetition in our reformed community of that same disastrous and scandalous feud which afflicted the mediæval Church in the contests of the secular clergy alongside of the ancient monasteries with the newly-minted and democratic *Fratres*. Perhaps however an even worse evil may befall us, and the lean cattle devour the fat. The “literate” may become the typical incumbent of England, and that grand personage, the English clergyman

—gentleman and scholar as well as Christian—become a thing of the past.

I do not of course pretend to say that what has been done, even if somewhat amiss, can now be re-constituted upon a better basis. Where three puny churches, each with a single ill-endowed clergyman, and a proportionately feeble tariff of services, have been erected in a locality where one large church with a staff of four or five clergy, and constant opportunities of worship at all hours, would have been infinitely more beneficial, and not have cost one farthing more at the outset, then these three churches must, I suppose, be still maintained as a vested interest. But at least we can be more wise for the future in the institutions which we raise up to meet the growing wants of an increasing population, and to palliate, if not remove, the inconveniences of the existing organization.

The remedy, I need hardly say, I see in the extension of that co-operative agency which is best and most briefly described as the cathedral system. In advocating its adoption in England, such as England is in the present century, I am not proposing a leap in the dark, or suggesting the trial of an experiment alien to the national character and the present condition of the English Church. It is true that no new cathedral has been reared in England or Wales for the use of our communion within this century. But in that great England beyond the seas, the British Colonies, where the Church has had to constitute itself in every particular, without the material advantage

of being "established," the cathedral system has been, within the last quarter of a century, evolved out of nothing as the foundation of the great creative work. The leader, I should add, in the movement, both in date and onwardness, was, as I shall have occasion to show, that energetic prelate Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta. I shall accordingly illustrate what I have to say with plans and engravings of some of the more noticeable and meritorious cathedrals and quasi-cathedrals built or designed for the use of the English Communion by eminent ecclesiastical architects of our own day, using their various features as contributions towards erecting that typical English cathedral of the nineteenth century which it is my object to present. I have, I trust, offered considerations to show that the demand for more cathedrals is not merely the utterance of an æsthetic craving, but that the reasons for it are based on the social and religious wellbeing of our country. In many cases the new cathedral will of course be some already existing church, but I am at present pleading for those cases where there is no church worthy of the distinction; and besides, even where the church can be found, many alterations in the fabric itself will generally be needed, and the accessory buildings will have to be constructed. In these instances, accordingly, it will be useful to possess some standard upon which the alterations can be based, or the new accessory buildings contributed.

The importance of keeping alive the possibility of future cathedrals has, even in a material aspect, a

value beyond its architectural import. Well-meaning persons have so pertinaciously reiterated the shallow assertion that the conditions of the present time restrict the Church of England to the erection of small or moderately sized parish churches, that the friends and executives of church extension have almost ended in believing them. How cramping the idea is to the free developement of art it is needless to say, for, unless art is master of size as well as of other material conditions, it must become petty and cramped. But this process of cramping does not stop short with art, for in the mystery of the world's existence mind and matter act and react upon each other. I have so strongly insisted on the social disadvantages attendant on the isolation of small parishes, that I may be excused for briefly expressing my conviction as a corollary that the notion of the Church of England being exclusively the communion of small buildings is one which if it takes root in the public mind cannot fail to have a deteriorating effect upon the moral no less than the artistic wellbeing of any nation which should contentedly close with mediocrity in any of its phases, as the normal condition of its external religion.

Let it then be granted that, if we keep the system of the Prayer-Book in view, and take our old cathedrals as our point of departure, we shall soon master the construction of new cathedrals in the spirit which led Dean Peacock to restore his glorious fane at Ely, and which now leads Dean Milman to undertake a similar great work at St. Paul's. It is, I need hardly observe, a great point gained, that the

necessity of additional bishoprics should have already been so extensively recognised as one of the spiritual wants of the day. Indeed the necessity of additional bishoprics, involving cathedrals, has been twice officially recognised within a very few years. Lord John Russell, when prime minister, as the sequel of the long opposed retention of the Welsh bishoprics, appointed a Commission, at the head of which was the late Lord Powis, which reported in favour of the erection of four new sees, one of them being Manchester, the others, St. Albans, Southwell, and Cornwall. The minister accordingly brought in a bill in 1847, providing for the foundation of the first bishopric at once, and of the three others prospectively. The session was far advanced, the opposition was noisy, and Lord John Russell lightened his bill by omitting the provisions relative to the prospective creations, but in so doing he reserved his own adherence to his own measure. Five years afterwards, in November 1852, during the government of Lord John Russell's immediate successor, Lord Derby, the Queen issued a Royal Commission to "Inquire into the state and condition of the cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales," composed of persons collectively representing, with great completeness, the various opinions existing in the Church of England, namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the late Archbishop of York, the Duke of Marlborough (then Lord Blandford), Lord Harrowby, the late Bishop of London, the Bishop of Oxford, the late Dean of Arches (Sir John Dodson), Sir John Patteson, Vice-Chancellor

Page Wood, Canon Wordsworth, the present Dean of Chichester (Dr. Hook), Canon Selwyn, and the present Bishop of Lincoln (then Mr. Jackson), who subsequently resigned and was succeeded by the present Bishop of Durham (then Canon Villiers). Among the duties intrusted to this Commission, in addition to those which had reference to proposing measures for the greater efficiency of our existing cathedral and collegiate churches, was that of "the suggestion of such measures as may make the said cathedral and collegiate churches, and the revenues thereof, available in aid of the erection of new sees, or of other arrangements for the discharge of episcopal duties." The Commission accordingly devoted the whole of its second report, dated March 16, 1855, and signed by all the Commissioners, to a recommendation in favour of the immediate foundation of a bishopric of St. Columbs, to be cut off from Exeter, and to include the county of Cornwall, for which an endowment was at that time offered by private munificence. The third and final report of the Commissioners bears date May 10, 1855, and is signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Oxford, Canon Villiers, Sir John Dodson, Sir John Patteson, Vice-Chancellor Page Wood, Canon Wordsworth, Dr. Hook, and Canon Selwyn, and the sixth head of this document is entitled, 'Erection of new Sees, and other arrangements for the discharge of Episcopal duties.' The Commissioners observe that in 1851 the average population of the various dioceses was about 645,000, and might in 1855 be put at 660,000 (what will it be

in 1861?) The heads of these recommendations are, that a permissive bill, founded on the 31 Henry VIII., chapter 9, should be introduced, giving power to divide any diocese under certain conditions of territory and population, the bishop's consent, if living, being of course requisite, an income and residence being provided, partly out of local contributions and partly out of Episcopal property now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The temporary union of the offices of bishop and dean in certain cases is recommended as a permissible personal expedient, and St. Columbs, Westminster, Gloucester (to be again separated from Bristol), and Southwell, are recommended "among the foremost" of the places "offering special claims and facilities for the creation of additional bishoprics," while it is added, that "there are other places in which it is desirable that new sees should be founded." A schedule of additional sees is accordingly affixed, with a reference to the diocesan map affixed to the first report of the Commission. This schedule recommends additional sees to be carved out of—1. Durham, at Newcastle or Hexham. 2. Chester, at Liverpool. 3. St. David's, at Brecon. 4. Lichfield, at Derby. 5. Lincoln, at Southwell. 6. Worcester, at Coventry. 7. Ely, at Ipswich or Bury St. Edmunds. 8. Gloucester and Bristol to be divorced. 9. Rochester, at Chelmsford or Colchester (why not St. Albans?), West Kent being divorced from Canterbury and attached to Rochester. 10. Exeter, at St. Columbs. 11. Bath and Wells and Salisbury, at Bath. 12. London, at Westminster. These recom-

mendations have remained waste paper since the day they were written, but they are not the less the deliberate voice of their authors, all of them men of weight in their time, and most of them still alive and actively influential in church questions. It is, in short, not too much to say that the whole question is one which, in the judgment of all reasonable persons, rests merely upon considerations of opportunity and money, as Lord Palmerston pointed out not long since to the deputation which waited on him in favour of establishing the bishopric for Cornwall. Of course I do not propose the recommendations of 1855 as final and irreversible in their details, but only as right in their general principles. Indeed in one respect they are open to grave criticism—in the remarkable timidity which their authors showed as to recommending the foundation of new sees where they are most wanted, in our largest towns. It will be observed that the schedule contains no recommendation for the subdivision of either of the teeming dioceses of York or Ripon, though one contains Beverley Minster and the other Leeds parish church, each of them a church admirably suited to become a cathedral. Perhaps it was this patent omission which has in part led to the report having fallen so dead.

It is conceivable that episcopacy may exist (as in point of fact it does in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States) and may be extended without the cathedral system to give it completeness. But I cannot anticipate that in England, where they have so long flourished together, any such divorce would be

tolerated. Some worthy persons may, indeed, take exception to the idea of building a new cathedral for England, from no jealousy or dislike of the extension of the episcopate, but simply from apprehensions of a secondary and special nature. One of these is the notion that the size of a building worthy to bear the name of cathedral would be inconsistent with the audible performance of those vernacular services which are the glory of our English system. Another is the idea that the domestic habits, the love of snugness inherent in the English character, would always lead the Englishman by preference to a small parish church, and would divert him from a more spacious collegiate church. I am perhaps alluding somewhat prematurely to these objections. But, considering that their tendency would undoubtedly be to paralyse the whole movement, and to perpetuate that reign of mediocrity which is symbolized by the multiplication of little churches and single-handed services, it may be as well to observe, *in limine*, that I shall in the course of the discussion adduce my reasons for believing that these are suppositions which will not stand a very minute scrutiny. There will I believe be little difficulty in showing that they are not founded upon any inherent unfitness in a cathedral (properly understood) for the present times, social or religious, but upon certain traditionary prejudices originally created by the misuse of the ancient cathedrals in former generations.

Primarily, indeed, and ecclesiastically, a cathedral is simply and merely a church, however small, in which

the bishop's "cathedra" or throne is fixed. The cathedrals in the Greek Church are to this day (with very few exceptions) buildings of the most moderate dimensions. For example, the primitive cathedral of Athens, still standing, and supposed to have been built by Justinian, is an exceedingly small structure. Again, the very curious cathedral at Torcello, near Venice, which preserves, as I shall have to show, in a most remarkable manner, the primitive arrangements of the Western Church, and which continued to be the see of a bishop till the destruction of the Venetian commonwealth, would be found inferior in size to many a village church in England. To give another instance nearer home, the learned Dr. Petrie has shown that the most ancient cathedrals of Ireland were, as a rule, only sixty feet in length: while the new cathedral at Kilmore, in that island, consecrated during the last summer, is thoroughly cathedral-like in its spirit and arrangements, with dimensions not superior to those which are usually appropriated in England to a parish church. Still it is undoubted that, in the secondary sense of the word, a cathedral ordinarily exhibits an excess of length, and height, and breadth, a profuseness, so to speak, of plan, a stateliness of ornamentation, an increment of dignity in its appearance, which lifts it above the level of the ordinary church, and which not unreasonably, though incorrectly, leads the general traveller to term such churches as display these characteristics cathedrals, although they may not have been built, or may not now be used, as the seat of a bishop. Ste. Gudule at Brussels, for instance, which

has never contained a cathedra, and the great church at Antwerp, which was not built for, and does not now possess its own bishop, are both of them universally called cathedrals.

Having cleared my way by drawing the distinction between the primary and ecclesiastical and the secondary or architectural idea of a cathedral, I venture distinctly to lay down my full claim, that, in its secondary no less than its primary sense, a cathedral is a kind of building which ought to be undertaken in that England of which our generation are the denizens; and to make this demand from reasons of a practical, even more than an artistic kind. I mean that, if the extension of cathedral institutions be for the reasons which I have brought forward a desirable thing, then the institutions will be cramped in their practical usefulness if they find themselves unable to occupy a building of dimensions much more extensive than those of the ordinary run of parish churches.

CHAPTER II.

CHOICE OF STYLE.

Gothic ruled by common consent — Progression by Eclecticism — English Middle Pointed the starting point — Absolute Italian Gothic inadmissible, but capable of contributing elements — Early English and Early French contrasted — Growth of Middle Pointed — Advantage of Middle style over Early French — Hope's Historical Essay on Architecture — Iron and Crystal Architecture not to be considered.

THE proof of my position that the actual wants of the day call for churches of cathedral size—by which expression I may as well at once say that I imply churches of not less than 200 or 250 feet in length, and of other dimensions in proportion—will depend upon an examination of the rationale of the features of a cathedral church both in their practical and in their architectural import. But this task will be much simplified if the previous practical question is cleared out of the way by an agreement being arrived at upon the general architectural style and expression of the building. This way of treating the subject will leave me clear hereafter to discuss points of arrangement without that constant reference to general principles of style which would still further complicate discussions, some of them sufficiently minute in themselves. I shall throughout this chapter take for granted that new cathedrals are in themselves desirable, and seek to discover what is the outward form in which, on that supposition, they

ought to be presented to our generation. Those who appreciate the broad social problem which I have propounded, without feeling an interest in the details of construction which are required for its technical solution, may, if they please, skip the chapter.

I take leave to beg the first and most important consideration by assuming that, *pace* Lord Palmerston, the building must be the exhibition of some phase of that style of architecture commonly called Gothic or Pointed. Had I been discussing the desirability of its use for secular purposes, I should have felt bound either to have given those arguments which seem to me most conclusive on that side of the question, or to have referred to Mr. G. G. Scott's recapitulation of them in his work on Secular Gothic. As, however, I am at present exclusively concerned with ecclesiastical architecture, I am content to let the argument pass *ambulando* upon the general consent with which every denomination of Christian has for some years past, with only enough exceptions to test the rule, built its fanes in Gothic.

But a further problem still remains to be solved,—whether any existing variety of Gothic (for there are many) ought most preferably to be adopted in the new cathedral? or again, whether the architect ought to invent, or else close with, some specific new variety, composed out of the numerous elements of the antecedent styles? The materials which exist towards the solution of these questions are manifold. The Gothic of the North offers for our choice the Lancet or First style, more slim in England, more sturdy in France,

little known in Germany; the Middle or Decorated species, conspicuous for the grace of its window tracery, and ranging from the Alps to the fiords of Norway; the classically regular Perpendicular of England; and the exuberant Flamboyant of the Continent. Southern Europe, too, has its varieties, not yet so accurately classed, but all of them broadly distinguishable from those of the North. Facility of travel and breadth of study have placed all these within the ken of the architect; while no absolute law of taste or fashion has yet arisen to compel his choice, strongly as he will find himself solicited on the one side by the uncompromising partizans of insular nationality, and on the other by the admirers of cosmopolitan beauty.

I attempted, somewhat briefly, to offer my own solution of the dilemma, in a lecture which I delivered two years since on behalf of the Architectural Museum, upon the "Common Sense of Art," and subsequent reflection has more and more confirmed me in the views which I then advocated. I am unable to find an intelligible standing ground in the absolute antiquarianism which is involved in the literal revival of any past style. At the same time the "progression by eclecticism," on which this inability lands me, must be conservative and not destructive, retrospective no less than prospective, national rather than cosmopolitan, and yet enriching its native tradition by the imported and assimilated contributions of other lands.

The revival of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture in England was in its first phase national, and out of the

national varieties of the style the Middle one was most generally accepted as the golden mean, although there were able outsiders in favour, some of the earlier and others of the later type. Then came a period of cosmopolitanism and eclecticism. Italian Gothic has found learned and eloquent partizans, and of late days a strong current has set in in favour of the sturdy First or Lancet style of France. I ventured to suggest in 1858, and I now even more confidently repeat the suggestion, to take up and to combine these apparently divergent schools, upon the basis—enlarged and strengthened—of the decision of the majority during the earlier of the two periods. We have outgrown the literal reproduction of the particular phase of Gothic which prevailed in England between 1250 and 1370, but we need not have outgrown making that our point of departure, if it is in itself worthy of the selection. We need not be afraid of adopting it as the platform upon which we are to construct our own superior style, which it will be in our power to enrich by the teachings not only of its own counterpart and contemporaneous styles on the Continent, the styles of Amiens and Rheims, of Cologne and Strasburg, but by those of the Lancet varieties at home and abroad, by the Perpendicular and the Flamboyant of Northern Europe, and by the graceful varieties of Italian Gothic—all moulded together and modified so as to combine in a style which should be emphatically northern and emphatically English, yet not narrowly northern nor narrowly English, any more than the

most true-hearted Englishman, educated in the broad civilization of the day, is one whose patriotism is narrowed into prejudice and his home-pride soured into cynical self-idolatry.

Yet I do not want to rest the defence of this suggestion on sentimental or patriotic grounds. There are I believe good artistic reasons why such a style ought to be accepted as the present golden mean of ecclesiastical architecture in England. The absolute Gothic of Italy is surely out of court as the Gothic of future England; everything which is distinctively and essentially climatic about it is so much which is distinctively unsuited to England. On the other hand, there is much in it which is no longer essentially climatic; such as its diversity of material, and the colour consequent thereon,—inasmuch as the conjoint action of chemistry and commerce, and the increased facilities of transport and working, have made England as a whole possessed of means of coloured architecture of which our ancestors were wholly destitute. So far then as the natural instinct of beauty and fitness implanted in man tells him not to be afraid of the colours which God has given him in the works which are to tell God's glory, let him make proof of his daring, and let him go to school where he will find the best instruction, namely, in the architecture of Southern Europe.

If I felt myself at liberty to expatiate upon conditions of technical architecture I should have no difficulty in marshalling at considerable length the points which seem upon the whole to strike the general

balance in favour of Cismontane Gothic for Cismarine England, in spite of the great beauty of the southern type. If I may be allowed to assume this superiority as a postulate, it follows as a matter of course that in an eclectic style for England the point of departure must be sought to the north of the Alps, among the churches built by the hardy offspring of temperate climates.

In spite again of the ingenious advocacy of Mr. E. A. Freeman in various publications, I think I may make bold to eliminate Perpendicular and Flamboyant, with, however, the reservation, which I make on my own account, perhaps more strongly than other writers have done, of the great ability with which the masters of these styles have worked out, often to the detriment of detail and composition, the principle of continuity—a principle as essentially belonging to Gothic as it is alien to the styles of Greece and Rome. As, accordingly, in passing over Italian Gothic we yet make it pay tribute of its polychromatic architecture, so in passing over these two contemporaneous styles we must reserve the free exhibition of continuity and verticality, in which they have often shown the highest merit. There are other points of peculiar excellence about them—their occasional treatment of tracery, their woodwork, and so on—which as matters of detail must for the moment stand over. We have now fairly brought the two serious competitors—the First, or Lancet, and the Middle, or Traceried, style of Cismontane Europe face to face.

It is not many years since the Lancet style enjoyed extensive popularity with the fabricators of cheap churches, on account of the unhappy reputation which it enjoyed of surviving more starvation than any other. It was emphatically the cheap style, and in the hands into which it fell it as often emphatically proved itself to be the nasty one. Cheap churches are still built, and it is well that they should be where funds are not abundant; but increase of experience has shown that ugliness need not be synonymous with economy, and that the First Pointed style properly handled enjoys no peculiar immunity from contingent expenses. Its advocates need no longer fear, nor its antagonists rely upon, the blunders and abortions of the years when "Early English" was the rage.

This term "Early English" recalls us to the time when Gothic architecture was studied in this country in a purely insular spirit, and Rickman's awkward nomenclature was in vogue. Still in one sense the term is not ill-chosen, though that was not the sense in which its inventor used it. Rickman honestly believed, in the simplicity of his heart, that all Gothic architecture was good or bad in proportion as it approached the English standard, and with him Early English meant Early Gothic. That there was Early French he undoubtedly knew, for he published architectural notes of a short tour in Picardy and Normandy; still it never occurred to him to set it for one instant on an equality with the cherished offspring of his native soil. We who know more than Rick-

man, not because we have studied more or better, but because we have entered into the hard-earned stores of him and our other architectural forefathers, are aware that there is a distinct Early English and a distinct Early French, each with its strongly-marked characteristics, and that nearly all the early Cismontane Gothic belongs to one or other of these varieties. Germany has its own early school also; but of this there are comparatively but few specimens, from the Teutonic adherence to the Round-arch style almost down to the day when Germany capitulated unconditionally at Cologne to the Middle Pointed style. Salisbury Cathedral is usually regarded the typical church in England of the Lancet style, which in this country was not finally transmuted for some years past the middle of the thirteenth century. But if I were to select according to my own taste, I should place the eastern portion of Ely Cathedral on a much higher level of beauty. Specimens also full of the most exquisite grace exist among the ruined abbeys up and down the woody glens of Yorkshire and on the cliff of Whitby, and the transepts of the metropolitan church of that county are amongst the glories of the Lancet epoch of England.

The east end of Glasgow Cathedral (No. 1), which was in all probability designed by a southern architect, exhibits the specific peculiarities of Early English with such marked distinctness that I am not afraid of producing it as a typical specimen.*

* I must here offer my warmest acknowledgments for the use of many of the illustrations of Mr. Fergusson's most valuable work. How great the advantage is to me I need not say.

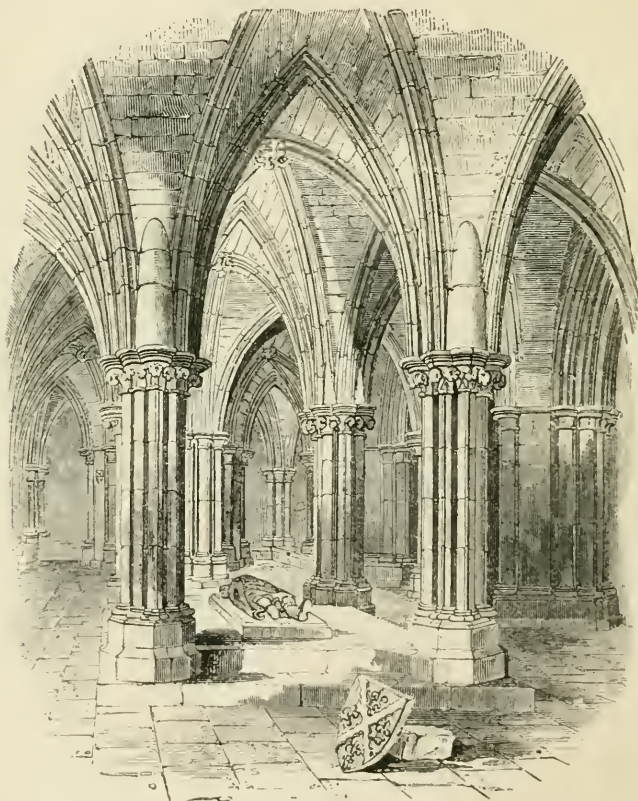


1.

Glasgow Cathedral. East End.

I assume all through this discussion that my readers have some rudimentary acquaintance with the general characteristics of the various epochs of Pointed, so I need hardly point out to them what they will discover for themselves, namely, the barb-like sharpness of all the windows in this elevation, from which indeed the style derives one of its names, for the “lancet” has

more to do with spears than surgery. I shall not trouble them with the woodcut of the clerestory* of the same cathedral—a very eccentric design, but in its eccentricity striving after an almost pedantic exhibition of Early English.

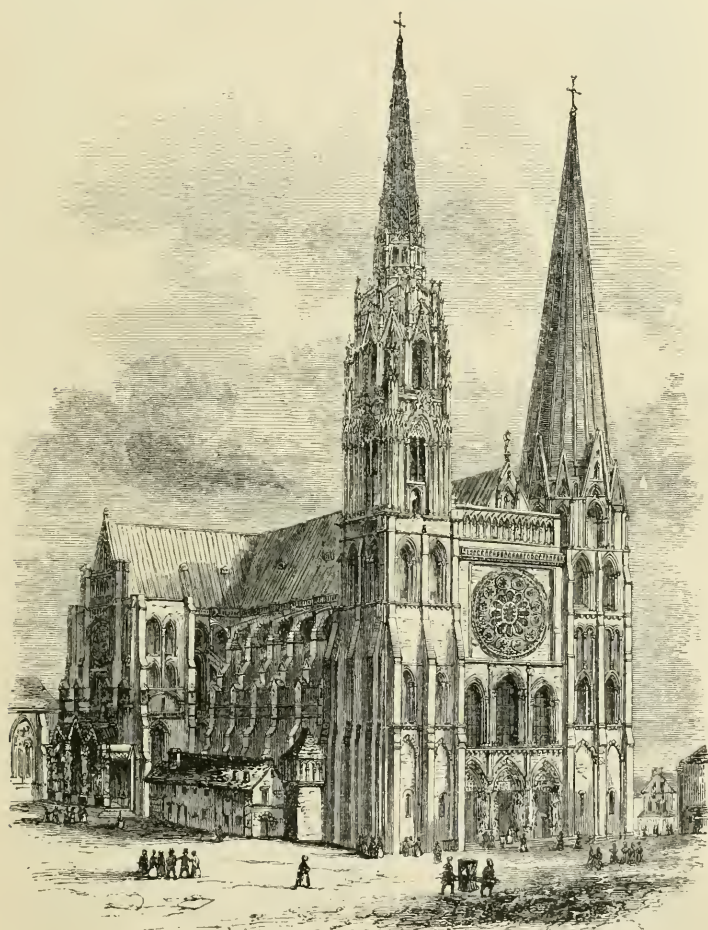


2.

Glasgow Cathedral. Crypt.

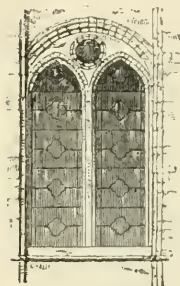
* I presume that it will not be necessary for me to explain that the clerestory (*i.e.* clear story) is the upper range of windows in a church, standing clear over the aisles, and the triforium the intermediate story (often a gallery) occurring in many large churches between the clerestory and the main arcade.

But windows are not the all in all of the style, for the treatment of the pillars inside is a most important differentia of the successive phases of Gothic. For my Early English type I again recur to Glasgow. Woodcut No. 2 represents its crypt, in which the gathering up of smaller shafts into one complete



pillar, without actually merging their individual existences into the united mass, is conspicuous.

If we turn to Early French, a style which I need hardly remind my architectural reader is somewhat prior in date to the corresponding one of England, we shall be told by the learned that they consider Chartres Cathedral as the standard example with the broad triplet and superposed rose of the west end (No. 3), the wide aisle windows (No. 4), and solid wheel-like flying buttresses of the nave elevation (No. 5).

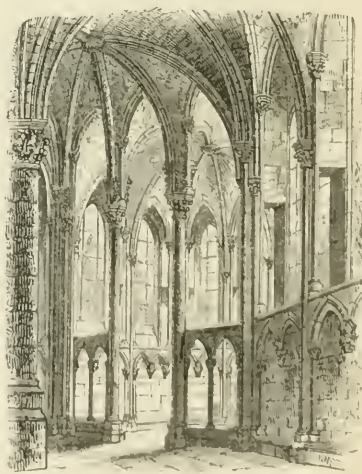


4. Aisle Window, Chartres.

Coutances Cathedral, in Normandy, seems, not unnaturally, to have considerable affinity with English examples; the massive piles of Laon Cathedral, in the Isle of France, and



5. Buttress, Chartres.



6. Lady Chapel, Interior, Auxerre Cathedral.

Notre Dame de Châlons-sur-Marne, in Champagne, may be singled out of innumerable examples as eminently characteristic exhibitions of the style in its grandest, sternest, broadest aspect; while the interior of Auxerre Cathedral (No. 6), just across the Burgundian frontier, proves how much of grace and variety may be imported into the treatment of Early French.

The man ungifted with architectural tact would probably discover little difference between the spirit of Early English and Early French, apart from those differences of plan in the buildings themselves which we shall have later to consider. The erudite architectural technicalist would hardly find one feature of absolute identity. Far be it from me to lead my readers into the maze of discussion about mouldings, profiles, and so on, which must be threaded if the question is to be followed up. There are certain salient points of difference, all of which are summed up in the general result that the Early French is a sterner and more massive style than the Early Gothic of England. The applicability of the epithet lancet to windows like those of York and Glasgow is at once apparent. It is not equally so as to the broader lights of Chartres. The clustered shafts of Glasgow crypt conceal the apparent circumference of the pillars; but the large cylindrical shaft—one of the main piers of the church—which just peers out at the left hand of the woodcut of Auxerre, is one of a countless number of examples of a design most popular among early French Gothic architects for their largest pillars—the simple cylinder

—a form but rarely used in the contemporary English style, except in the much smaller supports needed for a parish church. The wheel-shaped flying buttresses at Chartres—only found in that church—would be inconceivable in any English cathedral, while the capitals of the shafts which compose their spokes, and the pillars of Auxerre, afford examples of the predominant use of the square abacus surmounting the capital in contrast to the round or polygonal one which equally predominates on our side of the Channel. Strong horizontal lines, members superposed rather than fused, short stout pinnacles, canopies put together with squat and angular pediments, distinguish the French style; the foliage round our capitals is more wavy, that of France more fleshy and outstanding, more like a free-handed imitation of the classical Corinthian. Large wheel windows are the rule in France, and in England the exception. Majestic statues cling to the great French portals; with us in the same position the retrocession of the orders of the mouldings seems the main thing which was studied. The origin of these differences, which at first sight appears to run counter to the distinctive differences (at least in an Englishman's eyes) of the French and English characters, seems to arise from the simple fact that the complete Pointed style was a matter of gradual developement in France, while into England it was consciously imported by men who meant to do something different from their predecessors. In every feature in which Early French differs from Early English, it distinctively recalls the forms of that great round-arch style, improperly termed Norman,

and more felicitously known as Romanesque, out of which it grew. The massiveness and squareness of its forms, the frequent use of superposition, the affection for the cylindrical shaft, the abundance of wheel-windows and the width of those which were oblong, the copiousness of sculpture, all witness unmistakably to its origin, for all are its property in common with Romanesque. In England the lancet, the taper, the clustered composition, bespeaks the mind of the architect, who said, "My building shall be pointed, and it shall not be round-arch in its mass and in its details." This distinction is demonstrable by the evidence of existing buildings, for those churches in England in which the architecture approaches most nearly to the French type are precisely churches built in the days transitional between the Round and Pointed styles and under foreign influences. I refer specially to the present choir of Canterbury Cathedral—of which the first architect was, as every one knows, imported from Sens—to the choir of new Shoreham Priory Church, a cell of the French Abbey of Cluny, and as such involved in Henry V.'s suppression of the alien priories, and to the circular nave of the church in London which the cosmopolitan Templars erected. These churches strike an English eye as "transitional" and not completely Gothic. A French critic would in all probability overlook their Romanesque features from his familiarity with such forms in the Gothic of his own land. Supposing that a school of architects, trained for example at Canterbury, had propagated the peculiar architecture of that church

over England, the Early Pointed of our island might have approximately reproduced that of France. But as far as we can judge, the idea of creating an architectural school did not occur to the dignified Benedictines of the metropolitical church, and so the propagation of the new style fell into the hands of the canons of Salisbury and the Cistercians of Riveaux and Fountains. The Cistercians were men of inferior education compared with the Benedictines, and therefore more subject to home influences and home guiding; and so Englishmen born and bred were probably employed, and the English style came out fully developed with all its distinctive features.

I do not see any present indication on the part of our architects of a desire to set up Early English as the starting-point of the future cathedral style; and I am not surprised that none should exist, although the modern building most resembling a cathedral in England, the Irvingite Church in Gordon Square, by Mr. Raphael Brandon, is a very able reproduction of the insular lancet architecture. With all its grace, Early English has about it an indescribable primness. It may remind the poet of Pallas Athene, but Pallas Athene never suffered herself to be wooed. Besides, it unfortunately happens (though it is hardly fair to charge this against the style as a fault) that many of its features are precisely those which can be most easily mimicked in cast iron and cement runnings. With Early French the case is widely different, and some of the ablest representatives of the latest generation of our Gothic architects have professedly lifted

up its standard as the rallying-point of art-loving England. The reasons which they give for the selection are highly creditable to their artistic morale. The trickery, the flimsiness, the unreality so common in modern art have disgusted them. In the Early French they find boldness, breadth, strength, sternness, virility; and they close with a style which seems so exactly suited to supply the crying deficiencies of the age. The strong correspondence of the churches of North France and England seems to have its practical applicability on this side of the sea. Perhaps also our architects may unconsciously be somewhat swayed by the enthusiasm which this style has created among that brilliant knot of art-writers who sustain the Gothic movement in France, and may not unnaturally prefer to find themselves in perfect harmony with, than in partial opposition to, the nearest, and — for England — the most prominent, school of continental architects who have embraced the mediæval cause.

The gradual process of development by which feature after feature of the round-arch style was thrown off as Gothic tended to maturity could not stop at Early English, still less at Early French. The first distinctive symptom of change showed itself in the novel importance given to the window openings, which had been hitherto mainly regarded, in every antecedent style, as vehicles for transmitting light, whether that light were the untinted rays of the sun or the translucent hues of painted glass. Their architectonic beauty accordingly consisted heretofore in

their outward form and embroidery. But men gradually made the discovery that, inasmuch as the windows owed their form and character to the material substance by which the opening was circumscribed, this material substance was as much of the essence of the window as the internal opening; and that, in short, a window was not a mere hole in a wall, however graceful in form that hole might be. Thence, to compress the history into a few words, the ingenious idea was developed of varying the surface of these openings by checkering them with vertical divisions and resolving them into convolutions formed out of the substance which composed the material circumscription, these divisions and convolutions growing out of, and growing again into, the circumscription itself, and forming a link between the wall-space and the glass-space. This invention, like many others, grew up gradually, without deliberate forethought on the part of its first projectors. The essence of it was found in the close juxtaposition of single lights, common not only to the earliest Pointed, but even in some instances to the latest Romanesque, in which the window groups, composed of two lancets and a circle above, similar to that which I have given above from Chartres Cathedral, is an example. Constructive requirements led to these window groups being internally set back into a single recessed panel, and surmounted by a single "rear-vault," while externally they still wore the aspect of being two or more lancet windows set very close together. But there was another influence also at work. Romanesque architecture rejoiced in circular

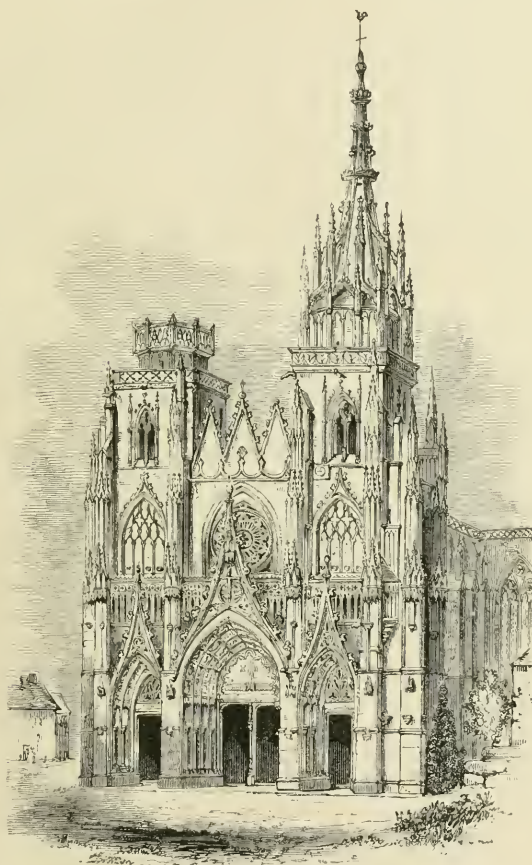
windows in the façades of its churches; and as the circles grew so large as to be unmanageable to the glazier, the architects of Romanesque days invented a kind of wheel-shape tracery to fill them up. This rudimentary idea grew with the growth of Gothic, and accordingly the rose windows of the early style exhibit real tracery long before the idea had advanced beyond the rudimentary stage on those which were designed with parallel sides. It is accordingly impossible to fix the precise moment when Early became Middle Pointed anywhere, just as it is impossible to say when Middle Pointed abroad became Flamboyant; the Perpendicular of England, alone of all northern styles, having come to the birth armed cap-a-pee with its distinctive attributes. The growth of Gothic was, I repeat, all along, with that one exception, gradually progressive; and unless we recognise this fact, and in recognising it determine for simplicity's sake to adhere in our terminology to certain broad distinctions, we shall at last find ourselves compelled to take into consideration distinctions not only of chronology but of topography, and so leave off, not with three, as the generality of writers assume; nor with four, as Mr. E. A. Freeman contends; nor even with seven, as Mr. Sharpe discovers, but with seventy styles. Desirous as I am to avoid this risk, I continue without apology or misgiving to include the earlier, or "geometrical," and the later, or "flowing" form of the Middle style under that same appellation.

For specimens of this, the intermediate, period of Gothic architecture we are no longer able to confine



Choir of St. Ouen's Abbey, Rouen.

ourselves to France or England. That the style originated in the former country I am inclined to believe, and among the first and the noblest buildings—noblest I mean in competition with the whole



8.

Notre Dame de l'Épine. West End.

world—on which the stamp of the novel method is impressed, stand the Cathedrals of Rheims and Amiens, which are, as well as the Sainte Chapelle of Paris, products of the middle years of the thirteenth century.

Of later date, and of more pronounced Middle Pointed forms, rises the choir of St. Ouen's Abbey at Rouen (No. 7); while the latest building I believe in Europe which can be attributed to this rather than to the Flamboyant type is the exquisite church of Notre Dame de l'Epine in Champagne (No. 8), a few miles from Châlons-sur-Marne, well described by Mr. Fergusson as "a miniature cathedral," and reared by an English architect in the middle of the first half of the fifteenth century, years after Wykeham had in our own island introduced his dignified and ingenious but cold invention.*

* In a visit which I recently paid to this church I was struck by two architectural peculiarities connected with it. The first was its general style, which was Middle Pointed, of a somewhat late period, but of distinguished beauty, though rather oddly commingled with Flamboyant details, particularly in the west front, of which I am able to give a woodcut, and which seemed the latest part of the building. The second was a peculiarly English feeling which distinguished the building, and which made itself particularly felt in the window tracery, where the cusping reminded me of Kentish examples, and in the stone perclose to the choir on the south side (that to the north being Renaissance), which looked like a close copy, on a small scale, of the beautiful choir perclose erected at Canterbury Cathedral by Prior de Estria in 1304-5. I left the church satisfied that I had been visiting a work mainly of the 14th century, and puzzled at the symptoms of architectural Anglicanism which I conceived that I had discovered, when I looked at a small description written by its actual curé, the Abbé Barat, which I had purchased within the building, but had not opened till I had turned my back upon it. The few first pages of this publication threw most curious and unexpected light on both the phenomena. In the first place, the building was not one, wholly or partially, of the 14th, but wholly of the 15th century, *i.e.* it ought by all chronology to have been Flamboyant, and yet it was architecturally Middle Pointed, for the alleged miraculous discovery of the image of the Madonna in a luminous bush, which led to the building of the church, and gave it its name, took place in 1400, and the works were not commenced till 1419. In the next place, I discovered that "un architecte nommé Patrick ou Patrice veut alors bien présenter des plans qui furent approuvés. On lui conféra la conduite de l'entreprise, et par un traité avec les marguilliers il s'engagea à construire le portail et les deux tours moyennant la somme de 600 livres pour ses

In England we are first introduced to complete traceried Gothic in Westminster Abbey, a very remarkable church, from its combining a French plan

honoraires. Comme Patrice était Anglais, il dut fournir pour caution deux bourgeois de la ville de Châlons." The abbé with very pardonable national pride excuses this transaction by the fact that the bargain took place only four years after the battle of Azincourt, when Troyes, Châlons, and Rheims were under subjection to the English. Patrick had finished the west end and the two western bays of the nave in 1429, when, according to Abbé Barat, the "infidèle Patrice" ran away, and carried off the funds which had been subscribed up to that date for the completion of the work, a charge which must of course be accepted with caution. As however the period of his flight corresponded with the revived successes of the French under Joan of Arc and the advance of Charles VII.'s army towards Châlons, it may have been fright as much as dishonesty that led to his retreat. If, which it is reasonable to suppose, Patrick left his plans behind him, the English character of the eastern portion of the church, including the choir perclose, would be sufficiently accounted for, particularly if the work were continued by the workmen whom the original architect had trained. Till it is proved to the contrary, I shall believe upon architectural evidence that Patrick learned his lesson at or about Canterbury, which is otherwise extremely probable when we consider the politico-ecclesiastical bearings of Henry V.'s invasion of France, and the likelihood that the cathedral nearest the French coast would supply the desired architect. The anachronism of style is a more puzzling consideration. Flamboyant had already formed itself in France, and, by a still more sudden and complete revolution in England, the artificial Perpendicular, which, if not (as I believe it was) invented by Wykeham, was everywhere propagated under his powerful influence, had for many years taken complete possession of the building operations of our island. Yet we see this almost unknown travelling Englishman begin nineteen years deep in the 15th century a church of great beauty and costliness in the plains of Champagne according to the forms of a past generation, which were, if not forgotten, at all events completely out of fashion everywhere else. I suppose the true explanation must be the simple one that Patrick was a man of strong mind who was independent enough to have a taste of his own, and that, as he had it all his own way under the exceptional circumstances which called him in at Châlons, so he did not scruple to exercise that taste. Perhaps a dislike to Perpendicular partly contributed to his seeking employment abroad. In proof that the early character of the architecture is not an imagination of my own, I may observe that, on consulting Mr. Fergusson's Handbook upon my return to England, I discovered (I fear to my pleasure) that he characterises this

with English detail. Tintern Abbey follows, a miniature cathedral also, far away in its forest glen; and the east end of Lincoln Minster (No. 9) should not be forgotten as a specimen of geometrical grace.

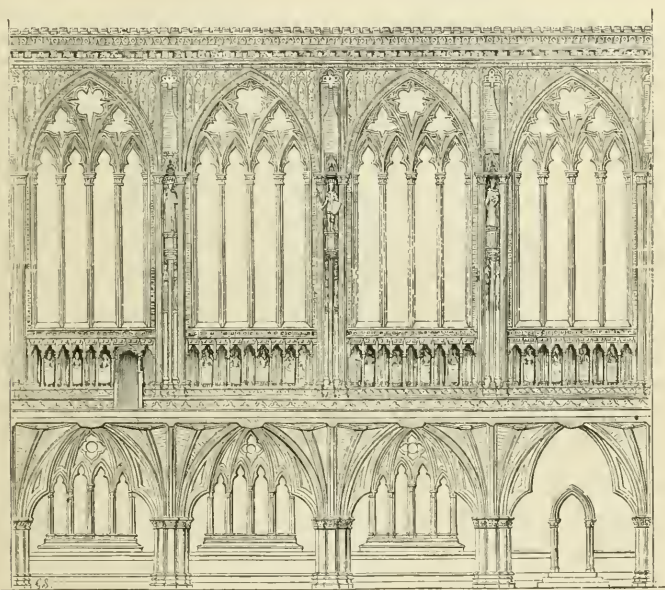


9.

Choir of Lincoln Minster.

church as "commenced apparently about 1329, though not completed till long afterwards." It will be noticed that, as it owes its existence to a particular and miraculous circumstance (whether true or false is nothing to the argument) which was stated to have occurred on its site on March 24, 1400, and as its surname is intended to show the then uncultivated character of the site, there can be no ground for supposing that any earlier building could possibly have been incorporated into the present church.

The maturer types of the style found their most exquisite expression in the unluckily and unnecessarily destroyed St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (No. 10), in the lantern and western portion of the Choir at Ely, the work of Alan of Walsingham, and, of a still later date, in the minutely sumptuous Cathedral of Exeter, and the Choir of Selby Abbey.



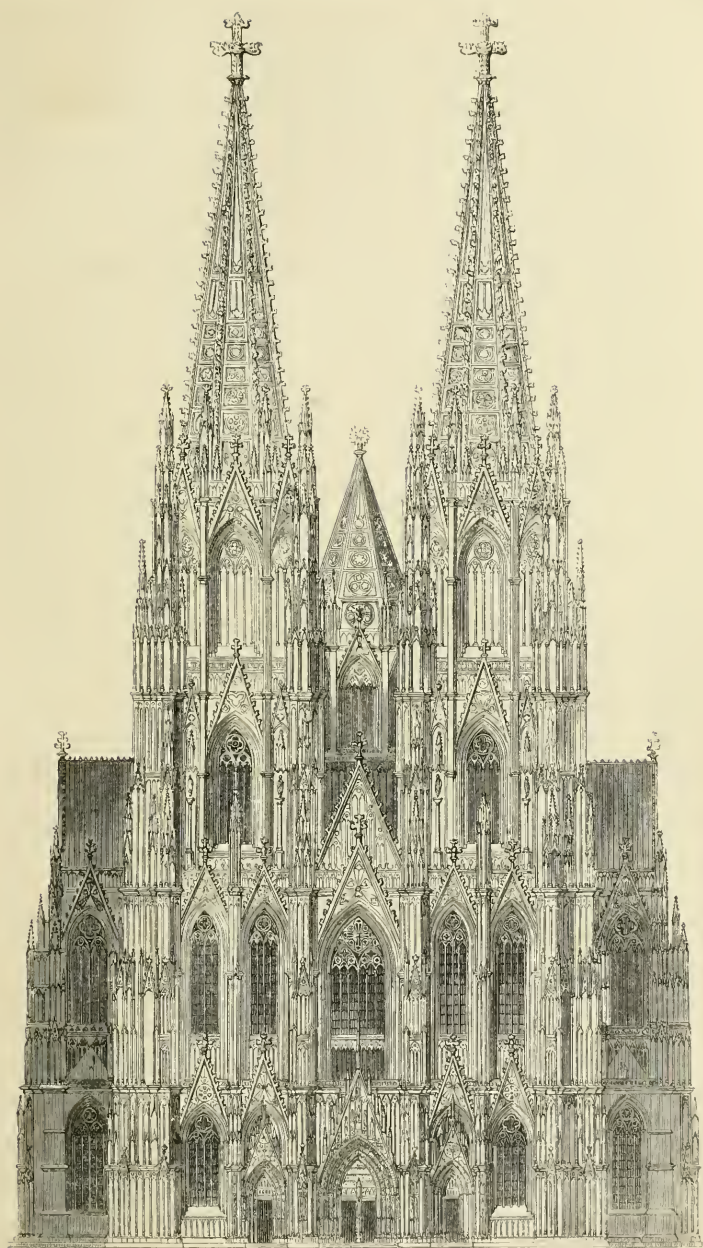
10.

St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.

In the mean while the Middle style had been introduced, had flourished, and had run into Flamboyant excess in Germany. The church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg—half shrine, half minster—exhibits rudimentary tracery. Altenberg Abbey, a Cistercian church, not many miles from Cologne, for the model

gracefulness of its early traceried forms, and the austere dignity of its general plan, deserves to be called the Tintern of Germany. This was the apprentice trial, and the master-stroke soon followed in that august imitation of Amiens, that singular instance of an exotic style transported whole into another soil, grandly conceived, slowly followed out, for three centuries abandoned, now at last nearing completion upon the ancient plan and with the ancient details—the Cathedral of Cologne (No. 11), the symbol to the Teuton race of the glories of their traditionary fatherland.

Here I pause, for this digression has already run out to a far greater length than I anticipated, and I have given instances enough to place the second or traceried style of Gothic before my readers. They must take for granted, without further evidence, that it does not differ from the earlier one merely in the new principle which governed the treatment of the windows. In Early French the classical principle of strong horizontal lines had never been fully transmuted. Verticality, indeed, existed, but it existed, so to speak, parenthetically. In the Middle style, on the other hand, while the stories were, as they should be, still staged up, the vertical nexus became a main object of the architect's solicitude. In column and in moulding, in parapet and pinnacle, in crocket and in capital, the change was manifest. There may perhaps have been less of force in Middle Pointed, but there was more of gracefulness and continuity; delicate pencilling replaced strong horizontal lines; growth of parts was found where superposition of members



used to reign ; the principle of verticality was everywhere triumphant, yet not despotic.

Until very recently there was no question among the votaries of the English school of Gothic as to the vantage ground for future progress standing in the rich domain occupied by the buildings of the Middle style. However, as I have explained, there now prevails a feeling in favour of the Early French, as pre-eminent for strength and dignity. The strong indications which it shows, in all its details, of being a transitional style are overlooked, and thus I fear the risk is run that architecture will be treated as an antiquarian rather than an inventive science. I venture to offer this warning in plain language, from no personal distaste to the Early French, an architecture for which I have the highest admiration in its proper place—that is, in any place where the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have left their mark. But I feel intimately convinced that, if we are to achieve great practical results in the way that I am pointing out—if, in short, the English Cathedral of the nineteenth century is to be created—great caution is needed no less than great daring ; and, above all things, the work, in its material no less than its moral aspects, must bear the stamp of active common sense in its recognition of the spirit of the age. Handle Early French as we will, we still find ourselves arrested at that particular point which the architects of the middle ages, who worked according to the needs of their own time, and not upon the *à priori* theories of book learning, were

not afraid to pass, and so, before they knew what they were doing, made the second style inevitable. Say what we may, there is a certain correspondence between the work which has to be done, and the expenditure of material necessary to do that work, which must be taken into consideration in reckoning up the sum total of architectural value. This correspondence depends of course for its practical expression upon the state of statical science at the time of day, and according to the condition of constructive skill certain methods of treatment are or are not admissible within the pale of actual use. I should be very sorry to make this practical consideration the sole or even the dominant test of architectural truth, for, if it is pushed to an excess, it would eliminate all ornamentation and all employment of material not reducible to architectural requirement. But in its measure it is a law of extreme importance, and unless we admit its cogency we shall be utterly at sea as to the first principles of the style which we ought to adopt for any construction whatever. The old Egyptian style is, by the testimony of all who have navigated the Nile, one of exceeding grandeur; but by their equal concurrent testimony, it is one which no man out of Bedlam would think of reviving. Why so? merely because a building in pure Egyptian would involve an expenditure of material utterly inconsistent with the work which had to be done. Again, I have always been led to believe, and induced to argue, that one of the greatest practical advantages of Gothic over the classical styles consisted in its being superior to

them in uniting the minimum of material with the maximum of area ; and that, as Roman became possible where Egyptian and Greek had broken down by their ignorance of the arch, so Roman ought to break down in face of Gothic by its ignorance of the pointed arch. But I very much fear that this course of argument would become impossible, if we are to close with Early French as the style of the age, for the grandeur of Early French, as I have striven to indicate, consists in features which depend for their effect on a depth and solidity unattainable without an excessive use of material—features, moreover, which are but imperfectly Gothic, if Gothic be the architecture of continuity and verticality. Let it not be said that Early French of the cathedral kind (for of this alone I am speaking) can be done cheap and thin, for cheap and thin Early French is the second parent of architectural monstrosities. The Roman Catholics at Geneva, a few years since, determined to build a new church, and determined also to have the most for their money ; and so upon a magnificent site, with insufficient means, there rose up an imitation Early French Cathedral, cheap and thin, small in its area, yet intricate in its arrangements, and not half a mile from the grand old minster of that city, a specimen, as impressive as it is simple, of the stern dignity attainable in a style somewhat earlier than the technical “Early” French style of Gothic—Early French with more of Romanesque still clinging to its skirts than even at Lausanne, Châlons, or Laon. This new Church of Notre Dame at Geneva ought to be

sent round Europe, as a warning to any architect who dares to attempt what practical sense should have taught him was unattainable. It quite convinced me of the dangers of attempting cheap thin Early French.

The answer to these cautions, which are of a mechanical, or it may be a mundane character, will be sought in the metaphysical idea of architecture having somewhat of a missionary vocation. The grave, strong, Early French will be adduced as the preacher of righteousness, truth, and simplicity to a luxurious and crooked generation, and it will be urged that, in order to give cogency to the sermon, a somewhat dispendious use of material may in the end be true economy. We shall be told that, if we are to have sermons in stones and good in everything, the good which the sermons are likely to effect is more than an excuse for the extra bulk of the stones themselves. But this mode of arguing seems based upon a misconception of the true character of architectural teaching. In other branches of art, imitative as they are of human action and feeling, there is a direct good and a direct bad, just as there is a direct good and a direct bad in human actions and feelings. The representation of a St. Catherine or a Messalina is pure or impure as the person represented was the one or the other, and a picture or a statue which is not directly either a St. Catherine or a Messalina is likewise pure or impure according as the spectator is likely to have the one or the other character recalled to his mind by the contemplation of it. But again, a St. Catherine with the

expression natural to Messalina, or a Messalina made interesting and attractive by the attribution of an expression only due to holiness and purity, must always be unnatural and always impure. There is, however, in architecture no such direct test of moral quality, and those which are substituted are after all tests which are in the end rather referable to the practical and material than to the moral and transcendental class of good qualities. Even Pugin, with all his fervid enthusiasm, mainly rests his defence of Gothic, in his 'True Principles of Christian or Pointed Architecture,' upon considerations of a material and constructive kind—the greater mechanical value of the pointed arch, the fact that in Gothic ornamentation grows out of construction, instead of the ornament (as is so frequently the case in Italian architecture) being used to conceal the construction, and so on. This class of facts establishes in his mind the reasonable conviction that Gothic is the more truthful architecture; but it in no way leads to the inference that the Gothic architects started with the deliberate intention of building in a style which should protest against all other systems by a superior form of construction and a more natural method of ornamentation. There may be a Pharisaism in architecture no less than in the moral world, which, by ostentatiously professing to be more real than the rest of society, ends with landing itself in the hopeless unreality of hypocrisy, intentional or unintentional. There is nothing which I less desire than to impute this fault to the supporters of the massive

Early Pointed; but the vicious extreme of their teaching lies in that direction. The grey old Early French minster, streaked by the frosts of nearly seven hundred winters and lichened by as many summers, is a tradition and not a creation. The brand-new Early French minster, the stone as white as the quarry can yield, the leafage as sharply cut as Mr. Myers' or Mr. Kelk's best workmen can turn it out, must be judged by the age in which it is built and the locality in which it stands. There is indeed a love of savage scenery, of wild, severe association, rife at the present day—a love in which I most fully participate: the “bristling horrors,” the “frozen latitudes” of our forefathers, are now the magnificence of the mountain and the glacier, while the trim parterre and elm-fringed meadow are deserted for the pine forest and the eternal peak. This is the natural, because it is the spontaneous expression of the age; this is the protest which that age has struck out for itself against the luxury and mammon-worship of the time. But it would not be spontaneous, and so it would not be natural, to adopt, *à priori*, an architectonic system from the supposed identity of its principle of beauty with that principle of beauty which forms the charm of Alpine scenery. I grant that, if our cathedral of the nineteenth century had to be raised on the flank of the Riffel or the Æggischhorn, or even of Snowdon or Axe Edge, the architect might pardonably perpend the lessons to be drawn not merely from Early French, but from the rudest forms of rudimental Romanesque.

But the call has come from the brick-built streets of the dingy manufacturing town, to which an answer truthful, and not transcendental, must be given.

Am I then advocating a sensuous or a starved and flimsy exhibition of the Middle style? I utterly and most emphatically repudiate any such imputation. If I were to see any tendency to exalt that error into a rule of practical action,—if, for example, I were to observe Flamboyant, which is the exaggeration of Middle Pointed, sometimes sensuous, sometimes starved and flimsy, paraded as the model for our imitation,—I should even more vehemently denounce that heresy than I do the present preference for Early French. It is on account of my intimate conviction that Middle Pointed is the golden mean, the practical and practicable style for our wants, that I so strongly advocate the advantage of seeing it accepted as the starting-point for the future ecclesiastical architecture of England. I have already explained that in adopting the term starting-point I imply that a start must be made, and that I contemplate the architecture of the future assimilating to itself, and developing as far as circumstances allow, the best features of the other styles of Gothic, whether north or south of the Alps. As the further course of this discussion will lead to the examination of the various members of the cathedral in detail, inclusive of its internal decoration, there will be ample opportunity in due place of indicating the general principles on which this eclectic process must be based, with more of particularity than would be possible at this stage of the discussion.

If what I have said may not be entirely palatable to the purely "archæological" school, who argue, like Gower in the play, "*quo antiquius eo melius*," I fear it may, on the other hand, seem too conservative to that class of students whose ambition is to forward "Victorian architecture." I may find myself confronted with the noble peroration of a work for which, on every ground, alike of natural affection and of respect for learning and talent, I have the deepest veneration;* and I may be told that I am one of

* Hope's 'Historical Essay on Architecture.' The position which my father occupied in the artistic movement of our age has never been appreciated nor even understood. He belonged to an old Scottish family, but by the operation of a jealous and bigoted act of William III.'s time, primarily directed against the immigration of natives of the country into which our family had emigrated, the foreign sojourn of his ancestors was an obstacle to his entering into English public life, although he had by predilection reinstated himself in his British nationality. Born and educated abroad, he yet acquired a facility of English composition which was perfectly marvellous in his case. His youth coincided with that reaction against the nauseous bad taste of Louis XV. which in the first instance assumed the shape of a devoted admiration of pure Grecian without a sufficient consideration of the circumstances of modern European and Christian civilization. In this reaction he was a conspicuous leader, and his influence made itself felt not only in his clever 'Letter to F. Annesley, Esq.,' touching the design for Downing College, which somewhat unfortunately (as it happened) led to the appointment of Mr. Wilkins, and in his 'Costumes of the Ancients,' but in his practical exemplification of his principles in the sumptuous furnishing and large additions to his "Hotel" in London, in Duchess Street, which he described and delineated in his 'Household Furniture and Internal Decorations.' As this house is now unhappily numbered with things that no longer exist, I may be allowed to leave on record the impression of early but vivid recollections of the taste, the fancy, the eye for colour and for form, which characterised the whole conception. The style was not suited for practical use, and so the experiment broke down; but it was the experiment of a man of genius, and not to be confounded with the contemporary and parallel, but far more insipid, "*Empire*" epoch of French art. The great fact for which Thomas Hope deserved the gratitude of posterity (a fact for which Sydney Smith was

those who give point to the proposition that "No one seems yet to have conceived the smallest wish or idea of only borrowing of every former style of architecture whatever it might present of useful or ornamental, of scientific or tasteful; of adding thereto whatever other new dispositions or forms might afford conveniences or elegancies not yet possessed; of making the new discoveries, the new conquests, of natural productions unknown to former ages, the models of new imitations more beautiful and more varied; and thus of composing an architecture which, born in our own country, grown on our soil, and in harmony with our climate, institutions, and habits, at once elegant, appropriate, and original, should truly deserve the appellation of 'Our Own.'"

narrow enough to quiz him in the 'Edinburgh') was that he, first of Englishmen, conceived and taught the idea of art-mannufacture, of allying the beauty of form to the wants and productions of common life.

Later in life, and imperceptibly, Thomas Hope gave up his strict Grecianism in favour of a wider eclecticism; but the glowing pages of the 'History of Architecture' are not the only proof of this change, for he also carried it out in practice in his exquisitely picturesque country house, the Deepdene, in Surrey. There, as in Duchess Street, his work was the remodelling and the adding to a pre-existing and inferior building; but there, taking advantage of a singularly felicitous site, he gave rein to his inventive fancy. Accordingly that place, as he left it, exhibited varied outlines and piquant sky-lines, in which recourse was had not only to the free resources of Italian, but even to Gothic models. My father died at the beginning of 1831, just before the great Gothic revival, but not until he had done enough to show that he never would have been among its fierce antagonists. In taking my place on the Gothic side, I have not moved away further from his position than the author of the Historical Essay and the architect of the Deepdene moved away from the author of the Letter to Mr. Amesley and the architect of Duchess Street. At the same time, when I study his artistic growth and the progress of the age, I see abundant reason why I should be a decided partizan of Gothic without being the bitter opponent of those who still tarry in the classical camp.

In answer I reply, that no man of sense or acuteness, least of all my father, in whom these qualities were most conspicuous, would desire to start from chaos in the choice of "*our own*" style. There must be some antecedent starting-point, and the one which I select is that particular period when England—the same "*own*" England in "climate, institutions, and habits," the same in race, the same approximately in language and constitution as at present—England at the epoch when Norman and Saxon had been fused into one commonwealth—had a style of its own, transcendent in the combination of grace and majesty—the style of Edwardian England. What my father's starting-point might have been had he put his teaching into practice I know not, but I do know, as all the world who has studied his writings ought equally to comprehend, that his mind must have gone through much progressive schooling between the days in which, in his 'Household Furniture,' he advocated the revival of pure classical forms for purposes of modern English life, and that later period when, in his unhappily unfinished and fragmentary History of Architecture, he first introduced the English student to the true secret of the gradual growth of Pointed architecture, and wound up his teaching in the words which I have quoted, words full of generous appreciation of the beautiful in the architecture of all lands and all days.

These words accordingly I accept, reserving for myself, as they plainly entitle me to do, the choice of the basis on which futurity is to construct its own

style. I make no secret of my preference; and in so doing I believe that I more fully act up to the real and mature mind of their author than if I adhered to that narrow creed of the perfection of pure classical architecture, out of which he had himself so manifestly worked.

Writing as I do for present wants, I abstain from pursuing the fascinating inquiry into the manner and the degree of the assumed progress. The new style may, in the course of time, become very different from the old Gothic out of which it rises, but at first it must be very like; and as my argument is that new cathedrals are wanted for a present and urgent necessity, I venture to assume that their architects will be content to put together existing materials, and leave to a future generation to profit by the success or failure of the experiments. I shall, for example, take for granted, that the chief materials of the church should be those which were ordinarily employed in former days—marble, or stone, or brick. I say this with my eyes open to the fact that many ingenious minds have been long conjecturing the possibility of some Gothic style of the future in which metal should dominate both in the construction and the decoration, towards which new style the internal arcades of the new Museum at Oxford, due to Mr. Skidmore, are a tender. Other persons may still more boldly point to Sydenham, and ask why we should despair of seeing a crystal cathedral. It is not however my present province either to prove or disprove these theories. Personally I may remark that I have

devoted some attention to metallic architecture, and that I entertain a strong conviction that at all events metal, and particularly iron, may be used more extensively, and to more advantage for artistic purposes than our ancestors have realised. This fact is surely one of simple common sense, arising out of the increased facilities for working or casting on the one side, and of transport on the other. But I do not believe that the change will revolutionise, although it may develope, the architecture inherited from the great old days; and I believe, as I have already said, that before this developement be consummated there will be ample time for the stone or brick cathedral of this age to have been constructed. As to the crystal cathedral, I must humbly say that I cannot grasp so novel an idea, and I do not therefore pretend to dogmatise upon its construction.

CHAPTER III.

MODERN CATHEDRALS.

Peculiarities of Roman Catholic Cathedrals — Differences between them and those adapted for English worship — Modern English Cathedrals built in and designed for Great Britain and Colonies.

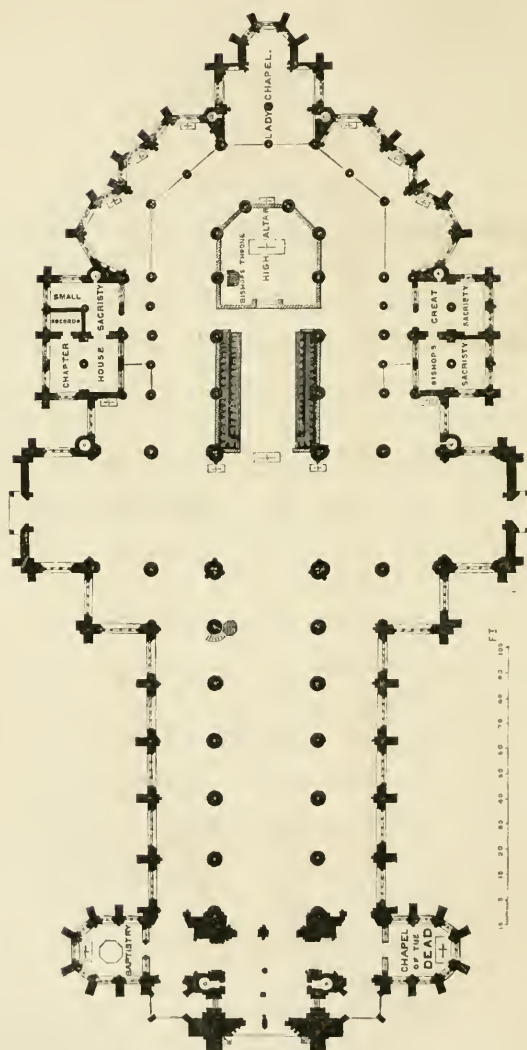
I HAVE, I trust, said as much as the present discussion requires upon the choice of style, although I have not by any means treated the discussion as I should have done if it had been more than an episode. In recurring to the main question, I desire it to be understood that I do not pretend that, when we have come to an agreement upon the architectural question, we have intrinsically come to any decision upon the distinctive possibility or desirability of new cathedrals for England. It is quite conceivable that the plea in favour of a noble ecclesiastical architecture may be admitted, and yet the objection raised that the church of cathedral dimensions is essentially a Roman Catholic institution, and that the spirit of the Reformed Church calls for small, compact religious edifices. It may be said that the home spirit of English worship demands compactness, just as the spirit of the old Grecian cultus found its most perfect embodiment in the small circumscription of the Parthenon. As this demurrer is aimed at the very heart of the whole matter, I shall proceed to grapple with it; and I shall endeavour, first, to prove that there are clear and important dif-

ferences between the Roman and the English Cathedral,—and secondly, that these differences do not touch those considerations upon which, on their own merits, I mean to plead for the practicable reality of the English Cathedral as distinct from that of the English parish church.

In order to offer the fairest illustration of those differences as they crop out in a foreign church, I shall first produce alongside of my English plans not that of any ancient minster, but one of a contemporary new cathedral which is at this instant being built by M. Statz—a very eminent architect of Cologne—in the city of Linz, in Western Austria. This church, I must observe, measures in extreme length 408 feet, and 206 feet in breadth at the transepts, and is designed, as might be supposed, in German Middle Pointed. (No. 12.)

The reader will perceive that its arrangements comprehend a nave for the congregation to assemble in, furnished with a pulpit, and in connexion with it the font, and also a choir containing stalls for the Chapter and officiators, a bishop's throne, and an altar at the end. We find just the same features in St. Paul's. St. Paul's has also aisles and transepts; so has the cathedral of Linz. But in Linz we perceive something more, namely, a series of smaller altars,* four-

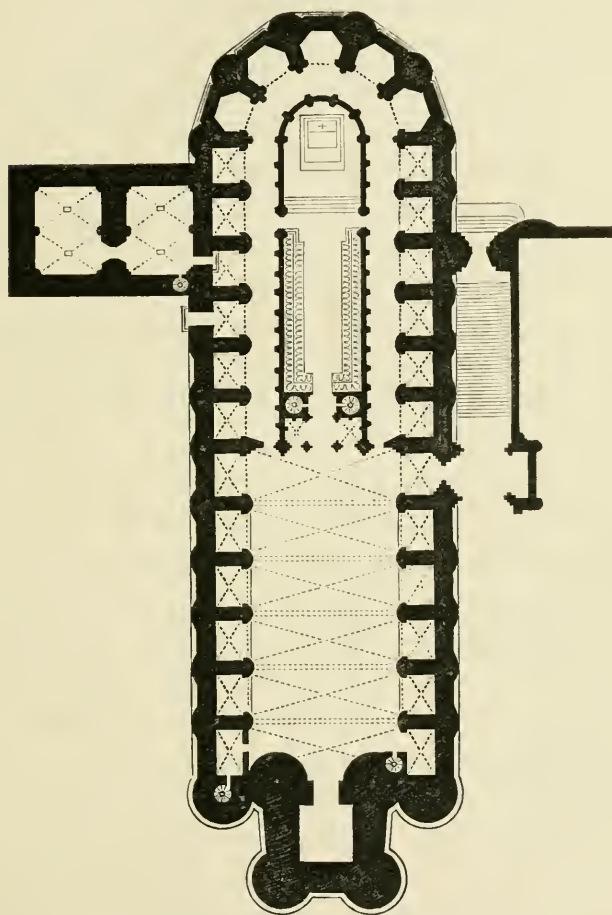
* By mistake the altar is not indicated in the Lady Chapel, but I have enumerated it; as a fact, however, I suppose this chapel is intended to contain three altars. This plan, like the others of modern churches especially engraved for this book, is on the scale of 75 feet to the inch. Those from Mr. Fergusson's book are generally on the scale of 100 feet to the inch. I assume that the term *apse* which I employ in the text is familiar to my readers as designating the semicircular or polygonal termination of a church.



12.

Plan of new Cathedral at Linz. 75 feet to inch.

teen in number, two in the Baptistry and in the Chapel of the Dead, others standing against the eastern walls of the transepts and blocking the entrances



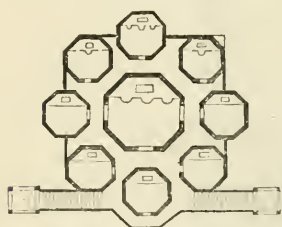
13.

Plan of Alby Cathedral. 66 feet to inch.

into the choir, the rest giving use and reality to the smaller apsidal chapels which bud and sprout from out of that eastern ambulatory which, forming as it does the termination and the junction of the aisles,

encircles the apse. It would lead me far away into those fields of doctrinal controversy which it is my desire to avoid, if I were to give the history of the gradual growth of subsidiary altars, in connexion with private masses, in the Western Church. It is only necessary to point out that the multiplication of altars, which dates back to the earliest middle ages,* was connected with that cultus of relics which has given birth to so many of the corruptions of Romanism. Even in an abnormal building like the Cathedral of Alby, built in Languedoc in the fourteenth century without either aisles or transepts, this practice was not forgotten, for chapels fringing the entire church are actually provided to contain twenty-eight altars. (No. 13.)

In the Eastern Church, on the contrary, the principle of one altar for each church has always been formally maintained; but a convenient way



14. Plan of Blanskenoy Church,
Moscow.

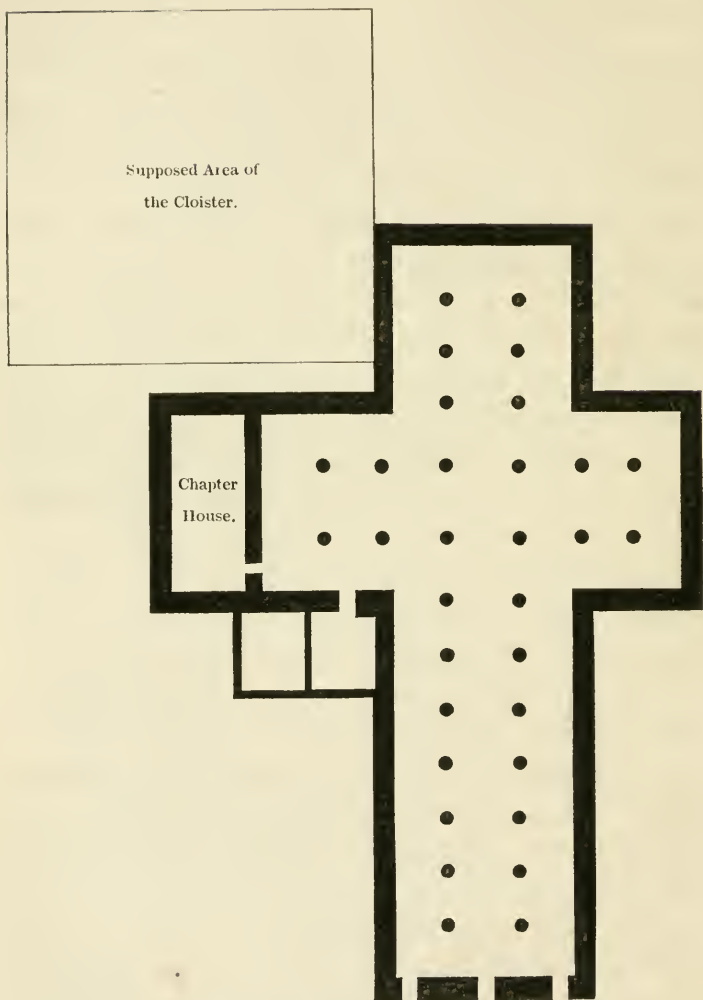
has been discovered of attaining the same end by congregating numerous small churches into one mass, like the chambers of a house—a practice of which the Kremlin of Moscow furnishes a notable example. The Church of Blanskenoy at Moscow, of which I offer the plan, exhibits the device pushed to its utmost extent. (No. 14.)

* In the curious model plan of an abbey furnished to the monks of S. Gall in the ninth century, which I shall reproduce later, two high and ten subsidiary altars are shown.

Alone in the Western Church, the diocese of Milan, proud of the possession of its Ambrosian rite, preserves the theory of the single altar; and so it was for one altar only that Milan Cathedral was planned, although the zeal of San Carlo Borromeo has foisted in subsidiary altars, to the detriment of the grand simplicity of its first plan. In England—where, as the merest tyro in ecclesiastical architecture knows, the apse was never thoroughly acclimatized—the distribution of the square east end was accommodated to the same need. The original Cathedral at Old Sarum, completed by Bishop Osmond, the regulator of the ante-reformational English ritual, in 1092, of which the turf in dry seasons sometimes revives the lineaments, had no apse, and yet its plan permitted of four altars in the two transepts and three at the extreme east end, besides the high altar. The accompanying plan of course pretends to do no more than indicate the situation of the pillars, which must have been massive Romanesque piers, and the direction of the walls.* (No. 15.)

In New Sarum Cathedral the same need produced the low-aisled chapel beyond the choir, which forms so beautiful a feature of the interior. The eastern transept, called the Nine Altars Chapel, at Durham, explains its use by its name; and a similar erection terminates the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire. At Ely Cathedral, of which I have the

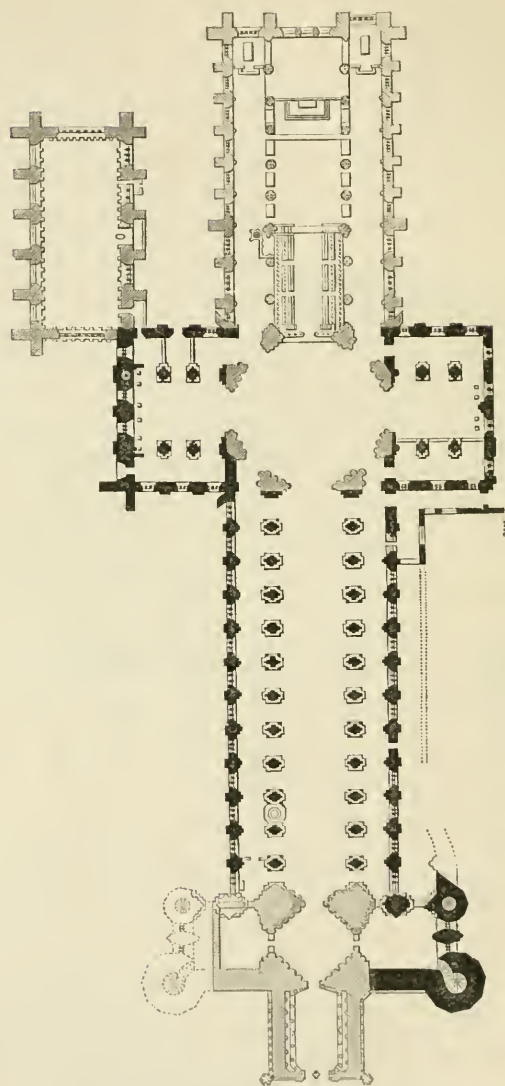
* I owe the plans of Alby and Old Sarum Cathedrals, with some other illustrations, to the kindness of the publisher and the editor of the 'Ecclesiologist.'



pleasure of presenting a plan (No. 16) showing it in its condition of actual restoration, it will be observed that there are two chapels at the extreme east end of the aisles. There is room also for a secondary altar under the east window; and in the middle ages, when the high altar stood to the westward of the present sanctuary, the shrine of St. Etheldreda, with its altar, was placed in the intermediate space. The central transepts also open into three chapels on each side, and those at the extreme west end had each its own apsidal chapel to the east, of which the one in the southern limb has recently been rebuilt, and stands in readiness to be converted into a chapel for early communions, which might not so conveniently be celebrated in the choir;* and there is the magnificent Lady Chapel, standing like a distinct church to the north-east. All these are features of Ely Cathedral belonging to the ancient ritual, in which we of the Reformed Church, so far as they have not been otherwise turned to use, are only called upon to feel an antiquarian and artistic interest.

But the same plan likewise presents us with Ely Cathedral as restored for the use of our worship by the genius and energy of my ever honoured and

* In the plan which I borrow from Mr. Fergusson there is an error in this portion of the church, for the apse in question appears in the rudimentary form of two dotted concentric sections of a curve, which, if prolonged, would make a sad inroad into the nave. The fact is that this apse is now entirely rebuilt, and it stands clear of the nave wall. The font is now placed in the south-west transept. The light portion at the west end is First Pointed,—the black, Romanesque; the dark hatching in the centre portion Middle Pointed, and the light hatching at the extreme east First Pointed.

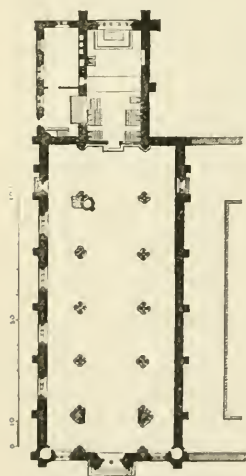


lamented friend Dean Peacock, aided by the ready talent and resources of Mr. Scott, in a manner which has excited the admiration of all intelligent and candid witnesses. The present arrangements at Ely are, speaking generally, identical with those which have been adopted in rearranging the modern Cathedral of St. Paul's, just as the pile of Ely, shorn of its Romanist peculiarities, is identical in general plan with Wren's church. My argument is thus narrowed to the simple issue, that, if social and religious necessities call for the multiplication of cathedrals in our large towns, then those cathedrals ought in their dimensions to approximate to, and in their plans resemble, the august churches built previously and subsequently to the Reformation, and themselves lately restored to serve as English Cathedrals of the nineteenth century, in all those features in which that restoration has taken a practical shape.

After this somewhat lengthy preamble I venture to appeal to the cathedrals and the quasi-cathedrals for the use of the English Church which have been built or designed of late years. I shall illustrate the discussion with plans and engravings, internal and external, of several of the most noticeable of these churches. Some of them, up to this time, only exist upon paper, but all had been put upon paper before I thought of handling the subject, so that they appear as independent witnesses. Collectively they indicate that the cathedral, as an institution, is taking root in the popular mind, wherever the church has had to organize itself in a new state of society; and they

practically prove that churches of a character suited to their cathedral destination, not only can, but have been actually set in hand by our own generation. I do not produce the various buildings as equally recommendable for models; indeed I think that every one is more or less open to criticism. Beginning with Calcutta and ending with Brisbane Cathedral, they range over a space of twenty years, while several of the designs are upwards of ten years old, which is a considerable interval of time where we are dealing with a study like architecture, which is continually receiving fresh lights. Still I venture to claim a high degree of merit for all of which I have had special plans prepared, and I shall find much to praise in the others to which I shall refer,

and of some of which I have been able to procure illustrations. I may repeat what I have stated in a note, that the plans which I have had engraved particularly for this book are all drawn upon the scale of 75 feet to the inch.



18 Plan of Perth Cathedral.
75 feet to inch.

The first church to which I shall call attention is St. Ninian's Cathedral (No. 18), erected for the use of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the flourishing town of Perth, by Mr. Butterfield, designed in a somewhat severe variety of Middle

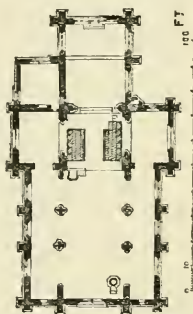
Pointed. The choir, transepts, and one bay of the nave were consecrated in 1850, and so have been in

S^t Quinians Cathédral. Perth.



use for about ten years. The rest of the building, with a trifling exception, has yet to be built. This plan carries simplicity almost to an excess; for example, the transepts are not apparent in the plan, owing to the manner in which the nave arcade has been handled.

Of a much later date is the cathedral at Kilmore in Ireland (No. 19), for the united dioceses of Kilmore, Elphin, and Ardagh, due to Mr. Slater. This church, in Middle Pointed, was consecrated in its completed form in July, 1860, by the present energetic diocesan, Bishop Beresford, who carried it through, both as a work practically wanted, and as a memorial to his famous predecessor Bishop Bedell. It is, as will be at once apparent, of very small dimensions in proportion to its ecclesiastical rank, but yet it aims with

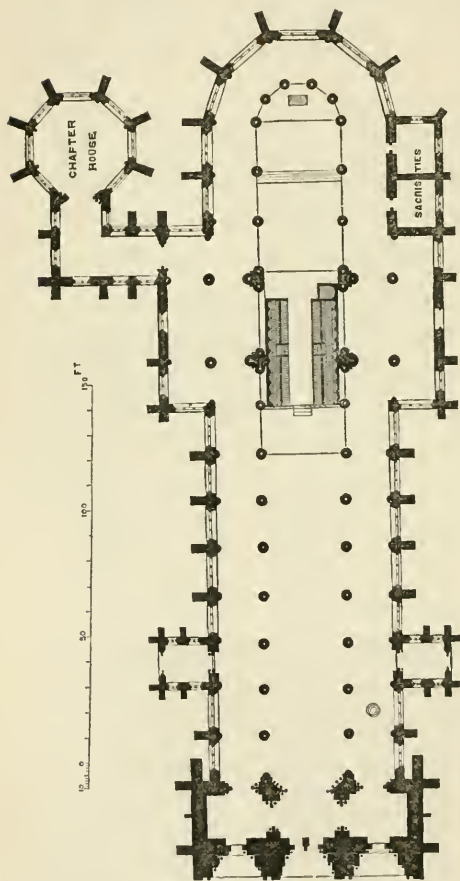


19. Plan of Kilmore Cathedral. 75 feet to inch.

much success at the cathedral character, in all points except the inferior elevation of the transepts. It moreover possesses the practical merit of having been entirely built according to the original plan. I have heard with much pleasure that the Bishop of Kilmore has already seriously talked of enlarging it, towards the west, by the addition of two bays. I have given a woodcut of its interior as the frontispiece of this volume.

I must now proceed to a cathedral which still only exists in design. The last work of Carpenter, who was lost to art in 1855, was the preparation of a

design for the west end of the cathedral proposed to be erected at Inverness for the Scottish diocese of Moray and Ross, which was completed just in



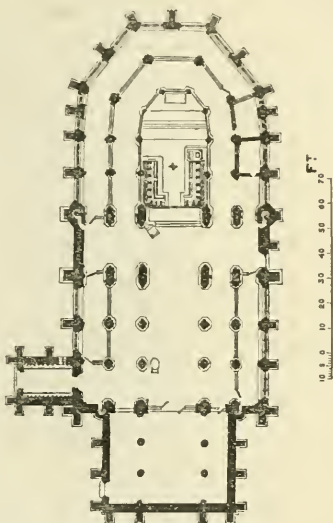
20. Plan of Inverness Cathedral. 75 feet to inch.

time for the international French Exhibition of that year. After his death Mr. Slater was commissioned to draw a plan to suit that elevation and embody what appeared to be its author's whole mind, and he accordingly produced one upon a large and stately type, to be carried out in Middle Pointed. Although the size of the church—345 feet long by 170 at the transepts—prevents the hope of its being reared in our generation, the bishop for whom it was prepared ex-

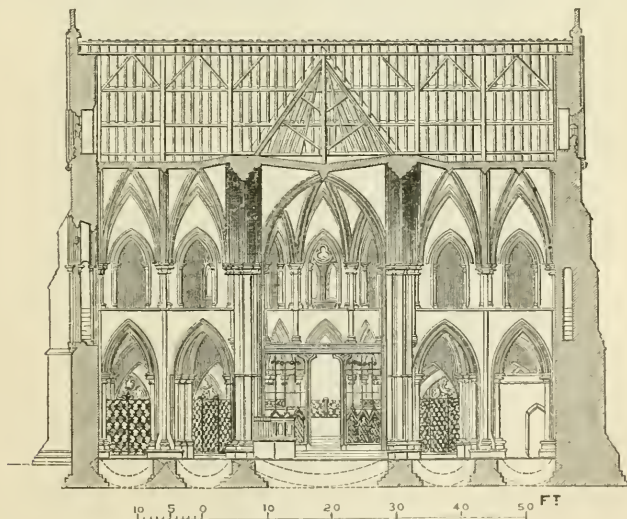
presses his intention to raise some portion of the building. In the mean while the conception has its value as the dignified idea of a modern cathedral suitable to the worship of our actual Church. (No. 20.)

Carpenter—a man who never had the worldly good

fortune to complete a building equal to himself—had executed, while in more robust health, the entire set of designs for a cathedral which it was proposed to erect at Colombo, the capital of Ceylon. Out of this series, which was produced in 1847, I have selected not only the plan (No. 21), but also the longitudinal elevation (No. 23), and the longitudinal (No. 24) and transverse sections (No. 22), alike for their intrinsic merit, and as memorials of their gifted architect. The church it will be seen is of ample dimensions ; and while the style is modelled on English First Pointed, the requirements of

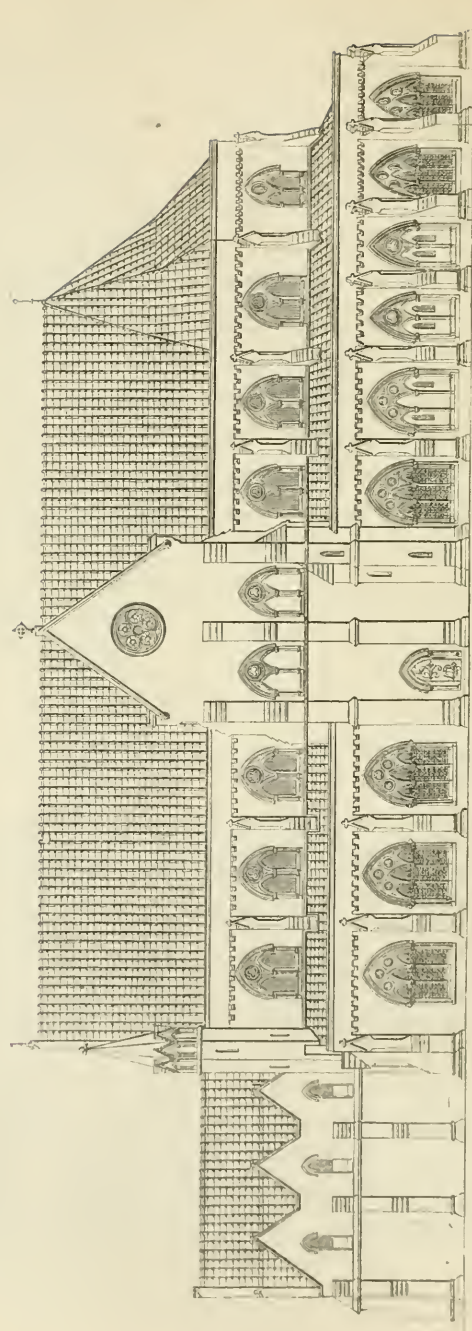


21. Plan of proposed Colombo Cathedral. 75 feet to inch.

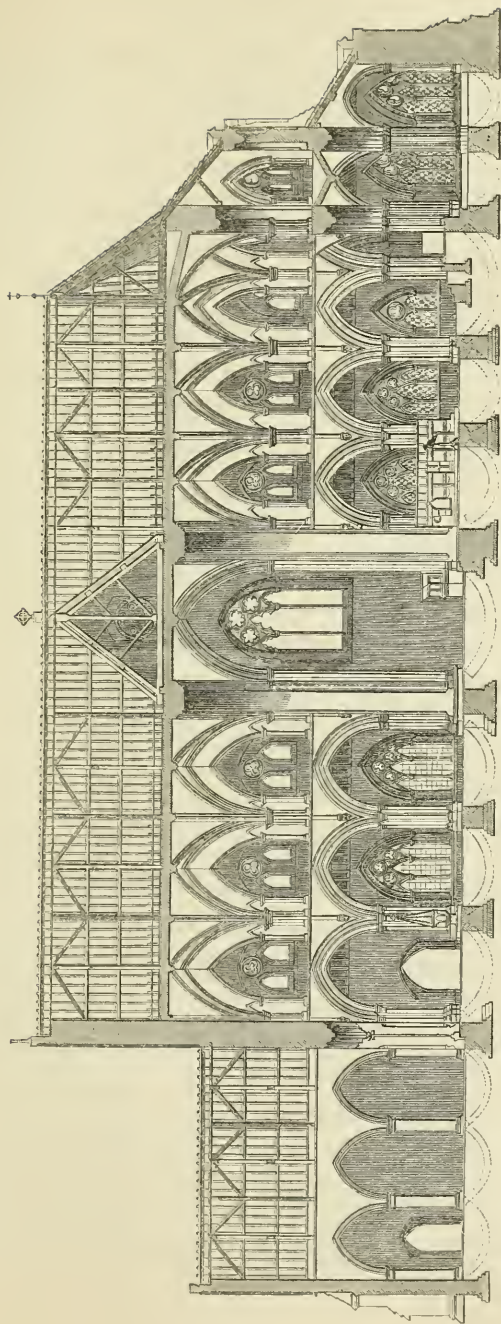


22.

Longitudinal section of proposed Colombo Cathedral.



Exterior of proposed Colombo Cathedral



Longitudinal section of proposed Colombo Cathedral.

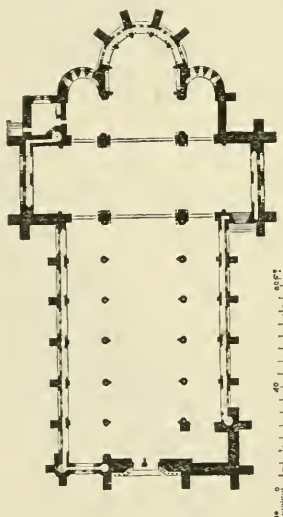
24.

the oppressive climate are met by the open external aisle or loggia which encircles the entire building, in addition to the ordinary internal aisle, and by the clerestory galleries in the double thickness of the walls, presenting internally almost the appearance of a triforium, while the spacious narthex, or western vestibule, is suitable, according to early precedent, to a church planted in the midst of a vast heathen population, for practical no less than ecclesiastical reasons.

It is greatly to be regretted that, in the construction of the actual cathedral of Colombo, this able project seems to have been entirely overlooked, for, although the cathedral institution exists in the capital of Ceylon, the building in which it is fixed is merely a modified reproduction of a commonplace parish church, carried out I fear under non-professional guidance.

The lapse of thirteen years again brought round the completion of a series of plans for a cathedral on a stately scale, for the use of a newly constituted colony to the north of New South Wales, where the conditions of a sultry climate had to be considered, and the Bishop of Brisbane sought his see provided with designs from the pencil of Mr. Burges. Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, the appropriate name for what used to be termed Moreton Bay, is, to be sure, but a semi-tropical city compared with Colombo. Still the heat there to English feelings is excessive, and demands precautions. Like Carpenter, Mr. Burges has sought his style in the earlier epoch of Gothic, though, faithful to his penchant, and to the now rather fashionable spirit which received so strong an impetus in that

international competition for Lille Cathedral in which Mr. Burges in concert with Mr. Clutton came off victorious, he has adopted the French form of First Pointed. I shall not renew the discussion upon the applicability of this style to our actual church architecture. Whatever may be its practical value as a general rule, the merit of Mr. Burges' special adaptation of it at Brisbane is incontestable, where its peculiar massiveness, which might render it less serviceable in England, has its own appropriate use. Carpenter, at Colombo, met the problem of cooling the air by veiling his abundant openings with external galleries, themselves pierced, in respect to the internal windows, so as to combine the maximum of opening with the minimum of solar light. Mr. Burges, for his



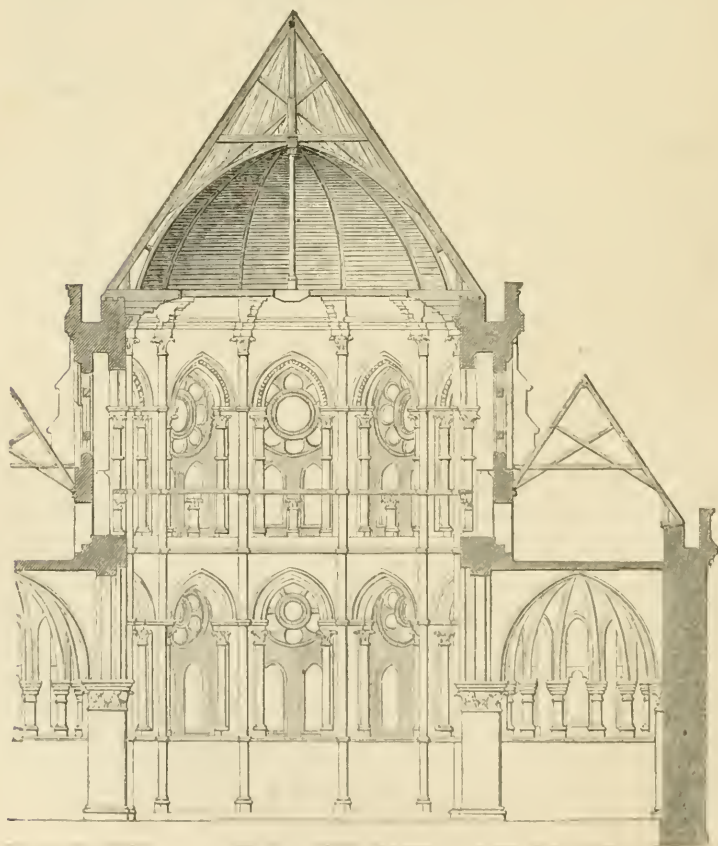
25. Plan of Brisbane Cathedral.
75 feet to inch.

part, while to a certain extent he adopts that expedient in his ingenious combination of triforium and clerestory, yet bases his plan upon what has been called, by a self-explanatory term, the speluncar principle of tropical architecture. Hence his thick walls, which are so well suited to Early Pointed; his narrow windows, made to exclude rather than admit light; and hence the coved roof, a feature which we should hail in the Gothic of any climate. It would lead me too far away



26.

Exterior of Brisbane Cathedral.



W. J. EGES ARCH.

27.

Latitudinal section of Brisbane Cathedral.

G. CATT. L.

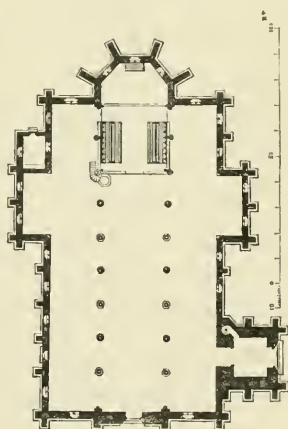






from my own subject, if I were to attempt to balance the arguments, practical and scientific, with which the two systems of architecture for hot climates—the draught-admitting and the speluncar—are defended and impugned, for I am only concerned with these tropical cathedrals in so far as they are designed by English architects for the service of the English Prayer-Book. Abler exemplifications of the adaptation of either to that service, and to the laws of Gothic, could not be found, and it is only to be deeply regretted that the opportunity for building one of them (if even in part only) has passed away, and that the other has not yet, as far as I know, been set in hand. (Nos. 25, 26, 27.)

The tropical church which I shall next produce, although inferior in its scale and its pretensions to those for Colombo and Brisbane, is, unlike them, actually built and in use. It is not, to be sure, technically a cathedral, but is the principal church of a community which possesses its own independent representative constitution, and its construction formed the subject of parliamentary solicitude and parliamentary munificence, so that it may very fairly take its place in the series. It is the church rebuilt from the designs of Mr. Slater in the island of St. Kitt's, in the West Indies, after the destruction of a former one by an earthquake, and consecrated in 1859. (Nos. 28, 29.)



28. Plan of St. Kitt's Church.
75 feet to an inch.

The fear of the recurrence of the same calamity which had ruined its predecessor imported one fresh element into the architect's considerations. He had not only to provide for the admission of air, but to provide against the risk of a sudden overthrow by making his church flexible, and as it were elastic. To have attempted to stand against, instead of bowing to the possible concussion, would have been to undertake an enterprise against which the patent costliness was an argument as irrefragable as it was practical. Accordingly the speluncar theory was out of court in this instance, and the point which Mr. Slater aimed at was to make his building light and well ventilated and yet sun-tight. The simple expedient of Middle Pointed windows with jalousies met the requirements of sun and air. The comparative thinness possible in this style pleaded in its favour as to the remaining requirement. Fortunately that usual plague of the tropics, the white ant, is unknown at St. Kitt's, so timber could be used in the construction ; indeed, had this mischievous insect been found there, the jalousies might have been impossible. Provided with these data, Mr. Slater gave a church broad but not lofty, the dangerous bulk of triforium and clerestory being dispensed with. The pillars are slender, but not too slender for the weight they have to bear. The aisles, instead of being thrown into the relief of deep shade, are brought forward, as in the large town churches of later Gothic, to contribute to the general effect of airy spaciousness. Upon these pillars rests the roof, designed so as to combine lightness

and strength, to hold the building well together, and yet itself to be elastic. The tie-beams (a feature not generally to be desired) give the necessary compactness; while the moderate scantlings of the timber employed obviate the risk of the roof crushing down the substructure. Thus designed, with a reason for every characteristic, this church is a specimen, both successful and modest, of the ecclesiastical architecture of the present day.

I must still detain my readers in southern climates while I introduce the two next plans to them. It has not, I hope, faded out of their recollection that on the conclusion of the Crimean War the religious feeling of the English people led them to the determination of sanctifying the peace by the erection of a memorial church at Constantinople. The appeal was made under distinguished auspices, and liberal subscriptions flowed in. The choice of the architect was made by unlimited competition. Although personally concerned, both in drawing up the terms of the competition and in the adjudication of the prizes, I may I trust be forgiven for appealing to this competition as standing out in favourable contrast to others of a more imposing character, and for a more magnificent stake, which have occupied public attention during the last few years. The disgraceful sequel of the competition for Lille Cathedral was the *ne plus ultra* of bad faith, while the original defects of the Public Office competition—needless complication, and inexcusable vagueness in the terms of the proposed contract—have been at the root of all the vexed and

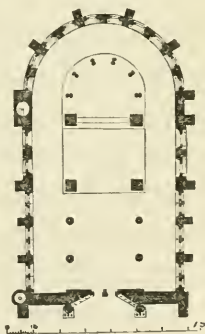
vexing entanglements of that yet unsettled question.* In our competition the managers stated as clearly as they could what they wanted and how much they could afford to pay for it. The judges gave the first prize to the competitor who seemed to them most completely to supply that want, and that competitor is still, after many delays, from political and other causes, engaged in building the actual church. The terms of the competition specifically invited a modification, to suit the climate, of Pointed or Gothic, and it forbade any approximation to the specific features of Byzantine architecture, therefore inferentially excluding the use of the cupola. The reason for the first of these directions was obvious. A single church in the middle of Constantinople built in Northern Gothic would have been in partial, if not offensive, contrast to every other building in that city, and would accordingly have proved an architectural failure, and not improbably the cause of much social heartburning. On the other side, a church which was not Gothic at all would have erred in the opposite extreme, and been unworthy to have been the monument of a western nation. Southern Pointed just provided the needful *mezzo termine*, neither too little nor too much like the existing buildings. Again, if a cupola had been introduced, even if constructed

* In saying this I must at the same time most unambiguously state that, according to the revelations which were made before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1858, Mr. Scott was clearly shown to be the rightful first prizeman of the whole competition, for he had the greatest sum total of merit.

with Gothic details, it would have been but one out of many ; and as money was not forthcoming to make it one of the grandest, its inferiority, compared with those cupolas which already crown the Constantinopolitan mosques, would have brought discredit on the building itself, and on the religion which that building symbolized. No exact architectural comparison could however lie between the church without and the mosques with cupolas, and thus no risk of visible inferiority would be created.

At the same time the character of the structure was to be "monumental," and it is in this character of "monumental" that I offer the plans of the church as modified by Mr. Burges, in a somewhat reduced form, and of the design which won the second prize, by Mr. Street, in its original condition. With all their high merit, these designs are so different in their conception that I can notice each without a reference to the other.

Mr. Burges's idea, embodied in a style combined of Italian Gothic and Early French, seems to have been to reproduce the general cathedral or minster type of the Continent upon a small scale, and yet with such simplicity of plan as to obviate the risk of pettiness and confusion. (No. 30.) In this he was very successful. The plan, as originally drawn, comprised a groined nave of three vaulting- and of six arch-bays, aisles to the entire



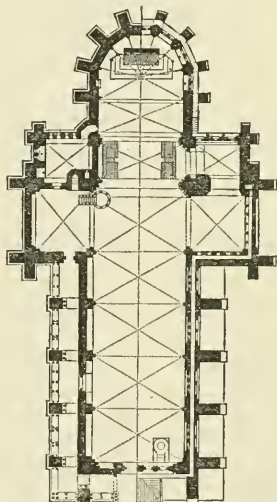
30. Mr. Burges's plan for Memorial Church at Constantinople.
75 feet to inch.

building, and transepts, and an apsidal choir, comprising a distinct bay, leading up to the circumambient aisle encircling the apse. In section the church displayed, besides the main arcade, an arcaded triforium, and a clerestory above. The chief artistic effect after which Mr. Burges aimed was the perspective of the east end, with its "chevet,"* a feature which he further defended on practical considerations, about which I shall have more to say hereafter. The work could not be undertaken at once, for the Turkish government, always tricky and perfidious, did not really look upon it with favour. At last, however, the zeal, kindness, and ability of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe overcame all obstacles, and a magnificent site in the most conspicuous part of Galata was presented to the future church by the Sultan. In the meanwhile trade matters at Constantinople had resumed their normal state, and uncertain prices made timid contractors. Accordingly Mr. Burges recast his plan upon a diminished scale, substituting a barrel for a groined roof, reducing the nave to three bays in length, abridging the breadth of the transepts, curtailing the length of the eastern limb, and combining the triforium and clerestory on the same principle as at Brisbane, but retaining the chevet. In this form the building presents, indeed, but moderate dimensions, but yet is invested with a peculiar dignity of plan, well suited to a "monumental" church; to a

* Mr. Fergusson has introduced this French word into our architectural vocabulary to define particularly the apse with a surrounding aisle.

structure that is, which, like the Ste. Chapelle or Merton Chapel, Oxford, possesses attributes which raise it above the general run of parish churches, and justify it in borrowing some of the forms and stateliness of a cathedral.

Mr. Street's design (No. 31), which appears in all the grandeur of its original dimensions, is composed in an Italianising translation of Middle Pointed, and will at once recall the plan of Alby Cathedral which I have just produced, although, unlike Alby, it adds the grandeur of transepts, while it dispenses with that ring of chapels which have no use in the English ceremonial. Aisles are wanting, and with them, of course, the triforium and clerestory properly so called, and so the whole church is one vast vaulted area like King's College

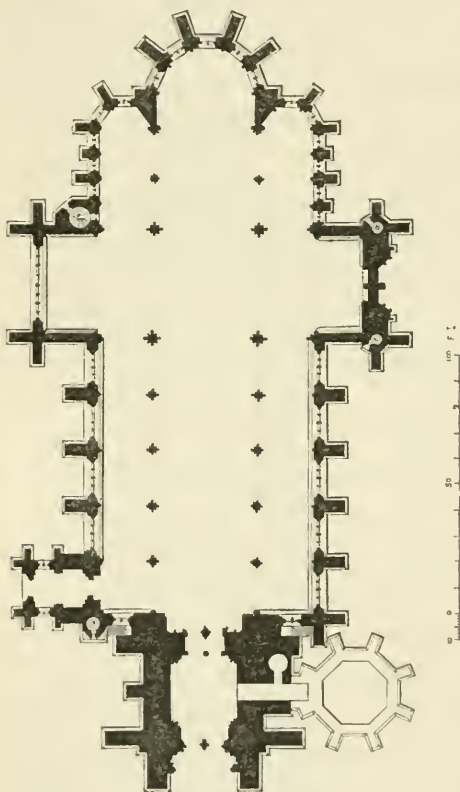


31. Mr. Street's plan for Memorial Church at Constantinople. 75 feet to inch.

Chapel. At the same time, as the left-hand moiety of the plan indicates, Mr. Street provides a low external cloister all round the nave for purposes of air and communication; and as we see, to the right he pierces the wall at the window-level for a narrow triforial gallery, with glazed windows on the external plane, and window-like openings, mullioned and tra-ceried, to the church. I must repeat, respecting this

design, what I have already said of Carpenter's Colombo design, that it would be a great misfortune to art if a work of such merit were to be forgotten in its author's portfolio. I do not know whether Mr. Street would agree with me, but I think it would be admirably suited for

the cathedral of some northern city where the winters are long and sharp, Ottawa for instance, or one of the prairie cities, should the Episcopal Church of the United States find itself strong enough to raise cathedrals. Those precautions which Mr. Street with great forethought has taken against the inconveniences of overheating, would equally serve to ward off the inclemency of the biting frost.



32. Plan of St. Nicholas' Church, Hamburg.
75 feet to inch.

which I shall call attention is that of a church which is neither a cathedral nor even one destined for the use of our communion, and which was designed as far back as 1845, but which in its scale, its character,

and the necessary absence of Romanist features, is admirably adapted to illustrate my position, while it is the work of an eminent English architect. The church before us (No. 32) is that of St. Nicholas at Hamburgh, which Mr. Scott has been for years rearing in German Middle Pointed, having won the commission in an international competition elicited by the great fire that consumed its predecessor, and which is now nearly completed, with the stately dimensions of a length of 218 feet, and a width of 123. This building, with these particulars, is self-explanatory, and the great point which it establishes is that a church of its magnitude is not only a possibility, but an accomplished and tangible fact in a great city.

I almost wish that I could give a plan of St. Paul's Church, Dundee, by the same architect, but I am debarred from so doing from the conviction that the plan would not exhibit its distinguishing and characteristic merit—that of being almost, and yet not quite, a cathedral. This church was erected a few years since for the use of the principal Episcopal congregation at Dundee, and as such it resembles a fair-sized dignified English parish church, in the Middle style, of stately architecture, and remarkably well placed on a steep rock in the middle of a populous town. But as the incumbent of the church is also bishop of the see in which Dundee is the principal town, and as the union of the incumbency with the episcopate is a thing plainly desirable in itself, Mr. Scott has with great ability and tact so regulated the arrangements and

general tone of the building as to render it a not unworthy substitute for a cathedral church. A much earlier work by the same accomplished hand, the cathedral of St. John's, Newfoundland—designed by Mr. Scott some thirteen years ago, on the destruction of the former church by fire, in a severe and simple style of Early Pointed, to suit its hyperborean climate—as yet only consists of a nave and aisles with a temporary apsidal sanctuary; but when the transepts and choir are added it will become a building of cathedral aspect and dimensions.

Fredericton also, the capital of New Brunswick, possesses its cathedral, which, although of small size, is yet of a thoroughly appropriate character in its architecture, and still more in its services. The excellent bishop, on first taking possession of his see, went out provided with plans of Snettisham Church in Norfolk, a handsome parish church in the Middle style, of which the chancel had perished. This needful feature was supplied by the then architect, the late Mr. Wills (an Englishman), but still the building would have resembled a parochial rather than a cathedral church, had it been completed according to those designs. The nave however was built, and there the work stopped for a short time, but was resumed by the construction of the choir, including a central steeple, from the original designs of Mr. Butterfield. The building so finished is very small, and is destitute of transepts. Still, from the concurrent testimony of all who have seen it, it unmistakably possesses the cathedral character, while the arrangements for dio-

cesan gatherings are very ample in proportion to the general dimensions.

More recently another conflagration has enriched another city of British North America with a cathedral somewhat approaching ancient dimensions. The old Christ Church at Montreal was burned down some years ago; and although the bishop would gladly have employed the highest talent of England, he was compelled to consult local prejudices, and so the drawings were prepared by Mr. Wills, who had settled at New York after his Fredericton engagement, while after his death the work was completed by Mr. T. S. Scott. Both these gentlemen, however, acquitted themselves more than respectably; and the result is, that the commercial capital of Canada boasts of a cruciform cathedral more than 200 feet in extreme length, in correct Middle Pointed, handsomely and appropriately appointed. The nave and aisles are destined for a large congregation. Transepts are not wanting, and an ample choir indicates the special use of this church. Much thought has been devoted to the fittings, and in painted glass, at all events, the highest English capacity has been employed.

In the mean while, however, I have been forgetting one colonial cathedral, which, although far inferior to those which I have been recapitulating, both in beauty of architecture and correctness of arrangement, is yet more remarkable than any of them, from the earliness of its date, the massiveness and size of its construction, and the far-seeing appreciation of the true office of a cathedral, put forward as the reason for building it

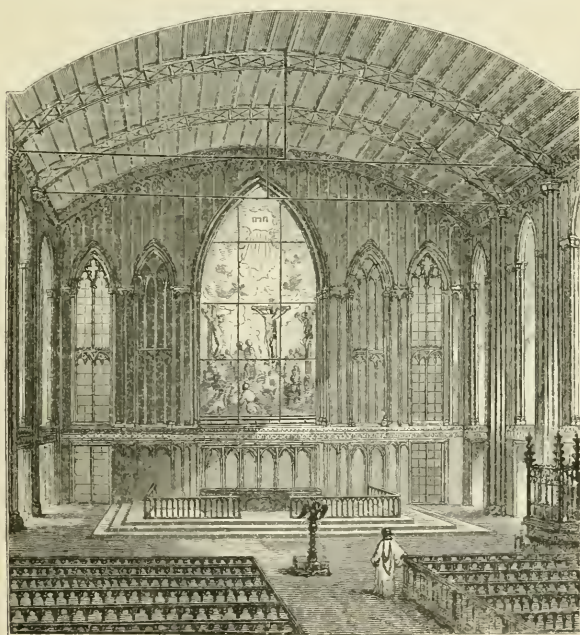


33.

Exterior of Calcutta Cathedral. West end.

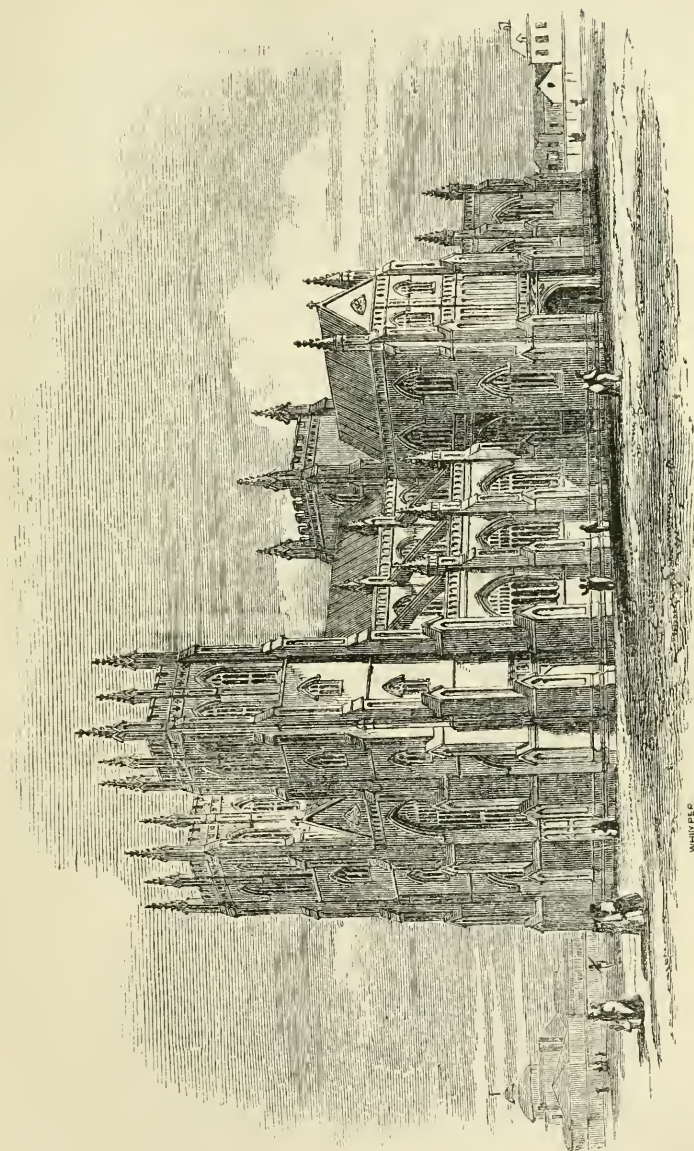
by its founder—a prelate no way identified, but the reverse, with any strong views of ecclesiastical organization or ritual precision. The cathedral is that of Calcutta; the founder the late Bishop Daniel Wilson; the architect an engineer officer; and the date of the prospectus in which the prelate first made his intention public the 18th of June, 1839. In this noticeable document Bishop Wilson proposed “to erect a lofty and spacious airy church, in the Gothic or rather Christian style of architecture, unencumbered with galleries; with an ample chancel or choir; with north and south transepts or en-

trances; and capable of seating about 800 or 1000 persons—its dimensions being probably somewhere about 180 or 200 feet by 55 or 60, and 50 or 60 feet in height.” The Bishop added that the exterior should bear some relation to the architectural character of the interior; and that an appropriate spire, about 200 feet high, should be added, “to give the whole a becoming customary ecclesiastical aspect.” The first stone was laid that year, and it is a great deal to say that the Bishop of Calcutta was able within about eight years after he had issued his appeal to see the accomplishment of this largely-conceived plan, with dimensions even more extensive than those which this



prospectus suggested.* I shall have, further on in this volume, to appeal again to Bishop Wilson's just appreciation of the cathedral institution. Such excellent intentions, so boldly propounded in days when sympathy was uncertain, merit more than forbearance from a later generation; and it is therefore almost with reluctance that I am bound to note that the architecture of Calcutta Cathedral, the work of a colonel of engineers, can only be described as a sort of corrupt Perpendicular, apparently founded on some rude print of the Duomo of Milan. The steeple, to be sure, which seems successful, is modelled on that of Norwich; the ceiling, it is scarcely necessary to say, is no way amenable to any law of taste; while the internal arrangements, which allot the choir of a cathedral to the general congregation, can only be referred to as an example of what is to be avoided. I am able to offer a woodcut of the west end (No. 33), showing the new external roof, which was Bishop Wilson's last work, and an internal view of the choir (No. 34), both borrowed from the Life of that prelate by Mr. Bateman. The huge untraceried east window is due to an accident, lucky or unlucky. The Dean and Chapter of Windsor subscribed a glass transparency, designed by West, and intended to fill the west window of that Royal Chapel. The production was safely sent out of England, Bishop Wilson was gratified, and his cathedral exhibits (in however unsatisfactory an artistic

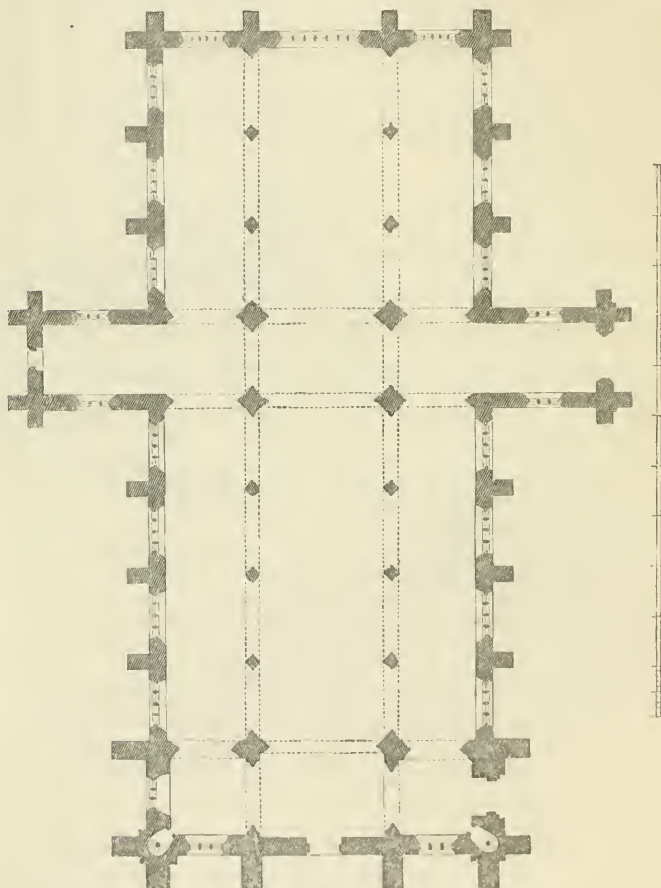
* The actual length of the church is 248 feet, the height of the spire 206.



Exterior of Sydney Cathedral.

form) that representation which ought before all others to terminate a Christian church.

When Bishop Wilson projected his cathedral the island of Australia formed a portion of his huge

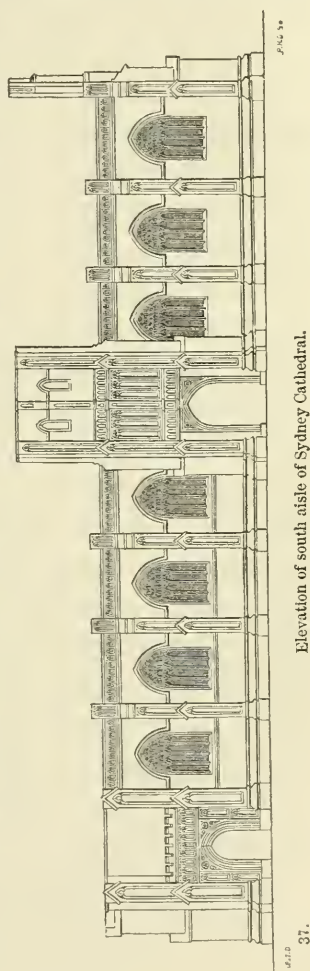


36.

Plan of Sydney Cathedral. 50 feet to inch.

diocese. In a few years it became a diocese, and in a few more an ecclesiastical province. Dr. Broughton, originally the first Bishop of Australia, and then Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australasia,

set on foot a cathedral in his important and growing city. (Nos. 35, 36, 37.) The building was planned on an extensive scale, but the ability fell short of the intention, and the style adopted was the latest Pointed. The work came to a standstill, when it was resumed by an architect of talent, Mr. Blackett, who had emigrated to New South Wales. His idiosyncrasy led him to use Perpendicular as his style of predilection, and so what to another man would have been a great misfortune was subjectively to him an advantage. He could not however cure the original narrowness of the transepts, which compelled him to design a central tower, like the one at Bath Abbey — longer from north to south than from east to west, although, unlike its prototype, distinguished by its want of elevation; otherwise he modified the pile into a very fair, though reduced, resemblance of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral. Both nave and choir, each with its aisles and each lighted by a clerestory, are, it will be observed, of ample magnitude. The weakest point



of the building are the overgrown central porches, which claim to be transepts. It has slowly grown to completion, but will soon, it is hoped, be consecrated by the present Bishop of Sydney.*

Some fourteen or fifteen years ago Mr. Butterfield prepared plans for the Cathedral of Adelaide, the then struggling capital of South Australia, which were intended to show at how cheap a rate the cathedral character might be given to a church. The structure was accordingly designed with the extremest simplicity, to be built of red brick, with few mouldings and the simplest tracery, but cruciform and lofty. Unfortunately this building did not meet with the approval of the authorities. A few years later Mr. Slater gave a sketch for a cathedral for the same city of a larger and more ornate character, but that was likewise laid on the shelf; and the church which now bears the name of cathedral in Adelaide is, I believe, quite unworthy of its rank. At Melbourne, I fear, no idea at all of a cathedral has ever been contemplated, although the secular constructions—Houses of Parliament, town-hall, banks, &c. &c.—have been reared on a scale of the most lavish expenditure. What the moral effect of this ever-present comparison may be, is not my province to inquire.

But midway between Calcutta and Sydney a church is at this moment in the course of construction, which,

* Unfortunately the plan which I have borrowed from the 'Ecclesiologist' is upon a scale different from the others which I have given, viz. fifty feet to the inch: accordingly it bears an appearance of undue magnitude.

as far as I can learn, deserves to be recorded in this place. No one, however moderately acquainted with our colonial empire, can be ignorant of the rapid growth and great importance of the town of Singapore, seated on a small island at the southern extremity of Malacca. Hitherto this settlement has inconveniently been attached to the Diocese of Calcutta; but it is, I trust, in the process of being detached from that distant city, and of being constituted the see-town of the bishopric of which the island of Labuan is now the nominal, and Sarawak the actual seat. In the mean while, however, the government, with a praiseworthy sense of its obligations, has been rebuilding the parish church of Singapore on a grand scale, upon a design reproducing Netley Abbey. The length of the nave is 170 feet, and the breadth (exclusive of the aisles) 30, while the height to the ridge of the roof is 76 feet; and there are transepts to serve as porches for the carriages to drive under. It was intended that the tower should have been upwards of 200 feet in height; but when it had been raised about 100 feet it was discovered that the foundation showed signs of sinking, and so it was temporarily roofed in, and left to settle. I have also heard of a full peal of bells, and of painted glass, so there will be no stint about the structure. These particulars are not sufficient to show how far climatic considerations have been grappled with, but they indicate the generous and charitable spirit with which the work was undertaken; and we may all safely take for granted that Singapore Church, when it is com-

pleted, and when, as I trust it may be, it is dedicated as St. Andrew's Cathedral, will mark an epoch in the progress of the cathedral movement in our Colonial Church. On the value of such a church in such a city as Singapore I will not enlarge.

No other colonial cathedral, as far as I am aware, calls for particular notice. Queen Adelaide's large church at Malta is the real cathedral of the bishop who takes his title from Gibraltar, and whose titular cathedral is, I believe, a mean and fantastic modern Saracenic building on that rock. In most of the seetowns, such as Cape Town and Quebec, there is some church which is entitled and used as the cathedral; but in every case I believe the building, whether of date anterior to the creation of the see, or of more recent construction, is little worthy of its distinction. In the island of Antigua, where the cathedral was rebuilt within these few years, in consequence of the destruction of its predecessor by an earthquake, the ugly London-Church Italian of George IV.'s days was adopted. But I have shown that cathedrals enough of a better type have been built of late years within the limits of the Church of England to justify me in treating cathedral extension as something more substantial than a theory of the schools. As I have already said, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States has not yet sufficiently divested itself of republican prejudices to adopt cathedrals by name. However, Trinity Church, New York (the ancient parish church of that now vast metropolis), had the good fortune to own an estate in the business and therefore most valuable

quarter of the city, which now yields an overflowing revenue devoted to church purposes. Accordingly some sixteen or eighteen years since the church was rebuilt on a very large scale by Mr. Upjohn, a known local architect, out of its own revenues. The style selected was Perpendicular, and the lofty west spire is now a landmark to vessels entering the Hudson. Without the title, this church is practically the cathedral of its own diocese; and on the occasion of the civic fêtes in honour of the temporary completion of the Transatlantic cable, it was chosen by the entire city as the scene of the religious portion of the solemnities, according to the rites of our Church. The new church at Burlington, in the diocese of New Jersey, was also reared by the late Bishop with the animus of its being the virtual cathedral of his diocese.

Having now given reasons why the increase of cathedrals is desirable, having treated of the style in which it is expedient to build them, and briefly indicated their general plan, and having shown how far practice has proved them possible, I shall in the following chapters proceed to consider the various portions of the building as they successively present themselves.

CHAPTER IV.

CHOICE OF PLAN.

Roman Catholic and Reformed Cathedrals further contrasted — Wilars of Honecourt — Practical use of the choir — Popularity of Choral Services and Special Preachings — English *mauvaise honte*, and how cured — The Volunteer movement — General and social uses of Cathedrals.

LET us assume that an architect of experience receives the commission to erect a cathedral in some large town of England where a new see has been created ; that an appropriate site is ready at his call ; and that he has the command of funds sufficient but not lavish. How is he to proceed ? He will have a Hercules's choice before him ; the better and the worse way will both be open. He may either consult his own vanity, and make artistic effect the one aim of his studies, and thus ensure an ostentatious failure ; or he may realise the spirit of his age, the wants of that special town, and the requirements of our national Church, and so produce a building in which pomp shall be subordinate to use, and in which accordingly the highest of all beauties, the beauty of truth, shall be attained.

In the latter case he will elaborate his scheme by slow degrees. His mode of action will not be to choose Lincoln or Cologne or Milan cathedral, and to say—This is the church of my preference, and I will transplant it wholesale to a new locality. His eleva-

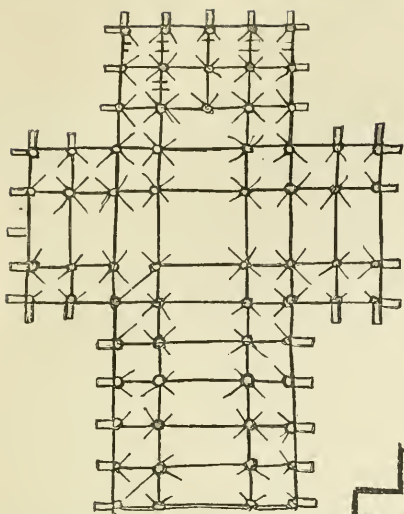
tion, on the contrary, will be founded on his plan, and his plan will be evolved by the wants which it has to meet, aided as he will be by the teaching of examples in which similar wants have been successfully met in former days. He has the old cathedrals to teach him. He has also the old parish churches. He has, in the third place, the new parish churches which he and other architects have been so plentifully constructing; and he has the colonial cathedrals already in use. His first notion will very likely be to make an old cathedral in small, but he will soon (if he has the true artistic perception) discover that our old cathedrals were modified in their whole conception by the ante-reformational requirements which were present to their builders' minds. His second notion will perhaps be to work up again his own previous experience, and to produce one of his parish churches on a larger scale. Here too he will find himself at fault, and he will at last hit on the right course, to work out artistically from the comparison of cathedrals old and new, and parish churches old and new, the ideal English Cathedral of the nineteenth century.

First he will seek to discover the ruling distinctions between the cathedral and the parish church, and he will soon find that the main though not the only difference between the two ideas is seated in the eastern portion of the pile. To be sure he will observe that the nave of the cathedral is ordinarily longer, and the piers of its arcade are stouter, than in the parish church; but his attention at that moment will be directed to the number and distribution of the

parts, and not to the dimensions of the individual features. The cathedral and the monastic church, and to a very great extent the parish church, of the Romanists have, as I have shown, for many centuries been planned in accordance with that multiplication of altars which follows upon the multiplication of masses. The modern cathedral at Linz, and the ancient churches of Old Sarum, Ely, and Alby, tell the same tale. The Colonial, Irish, and Scottish churches, on the other hand, which I have produced, are intended to hold one altar only, and yet they are, speaking generally, complete and harmonious in their plan, and some of them are of very considerable dimensions. The transepts at Linz spread out in order that chapels may be projected from their eastern face. The apse is fringed with a coronal of chapels, just as in those English cathedrals which have a square east end, this is so arranged as to display a continuous range of rectangular chapels: while, upon the plan, as in many of the larger mediæval churches, the more conspicuous Lady Chapel projects like a little church from the extreme eastern end. I can indeed produce a living witness, freshly introduced to our generation from the middle ages, to prove my point. In the middle of the thirteenth century, as internal evidence shows, there flourished a Picard architect, Wilars de Honecort by name, a clever active pains-taking man, an artist of taste, a good engineer, and a person alive to the world about him, who died, and left, as the sole record to late posterity that he had ever lived, his note-book full of miscellaneous jottings.

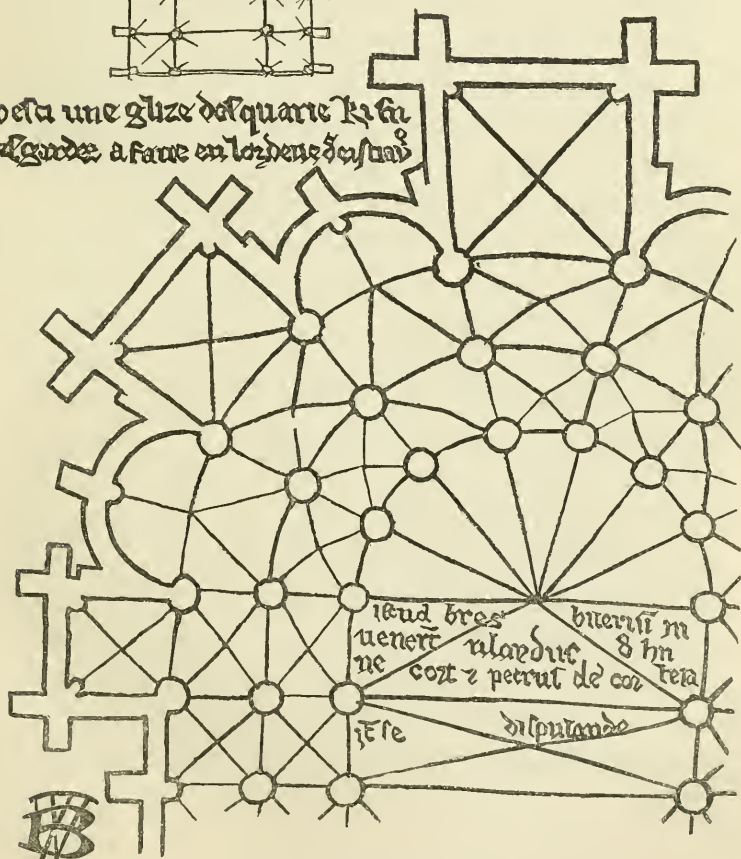
In this curious collection we find churches that he had built, and churches that he had seen, admired, and copied, not only in France but in Hungary, whither his profession had called him; sights, monuments, and machines that he desired to keep a note of; models draped and nude—altogether a very varied collection. This note-book, long immured in the library of St. Geneviève at Paris, was prepared for the press in that city, with illustrative letterpress by the late M. Lassus, and published after his death by M. Darcel, while an English version soon followed, characteristically improved, from the brilliant pen of Professor Willis. The Cistercians, it is known, were the great advocates of simplicity in ecclesiastical architecture; and although in their earliest abbeys, such as Pontigny, they adopted the chevet, yet their experience of English ways, or else their particular habits, seems to have made the less artistic square end fashionable in their cloisters; and so Wilars the Picard, when he produced a sketch to meet their requirements, designed a “glize desquarie”—a “squared church”—“en lordene d Cistiaux.” He seems to have theorised on the matter, and he had certainly a friendly dispute with his brother architect Peter of Corbie (a man of whose existence there is I believe no other trace), for on another leaf of the sketch-book is the plan of the east end of a church with this note, “istud presbyterium invenerunt Vlardus de Hunecort et Petrus de Corbeia inter se disputando,”—the plan being very much that of any other average chevet-ended cathedral, except that each

alternate chapel is square. The accompanying woodcut (No. 38), which I borrow from the 'Ecclesiologist,' shows the larger portion of this plan, and all of the Cistercian sketch, which occur on different pages of the note-book, grouped in facsimile. But in both instances—the squared church of the Cistercians, and the design which emanated from the friendly controversy—the same desire is dominant, the multiplication of chapel-room. The "glize desquarie" would contain at least eight altars, inclusive of the high-altar, and could have been arranged for several more, and in the compromise design the chevet has a cincture of nine chapels; while the other plans of actual churches which Wilars gives up and down his book, with their names attached, are all of them prepared upon the same idea. To be sure it was hardly worth while, in strict logic, to have produced the evidence of buildings which have never been built. Almost every cathedral and every abbey, almost every parish church of the middle ages, is a witness to the same fact; but there is a piquancy in being brought home to the very pen-scratches and notes of the designer himself, which adds a special force to the illustration. Besides, as I have given some unbuilt designs of modern architects, I could hardly do less for the thirteenth century, when the opportunity was so easy. Another peculiarity of the ante-reformational cathedral—the crypt—also connected with the system of relics, chapels, and private masses, has hardly a practical bearing upon my main question, and I therefore content myself with a passing allusion to it, which I ought perhaps to



Two plans
from the book
of Wilard de
honeycomet.

Voici une glize delquarie R. fa
figuée a faire en l'ordene des tans



have made earlier, to show that it has not been forgotten.

I resume with the observation that in the multiplication of chapels or altars consists the main architectural difference between the Roman and the English cathedrals. Take these away, and you are simply left with the elements of an English cathedral—elements which you find on a smaller scale in any college chapel or parish church: the nave or antechapel for the general congregation; the choir or chancel for the corporation of the college, or the clerks actually engaged in the performance of the service; and the sanctuary beyond for the Holy Communion. Possibly, too (most generally indeed), you find the transepts also, and these also are of very common occurrence in parish churches. These elements, I say, exist potentially in every old parish church, and actually in a daily increasing number of churches, both old and new; and they are most conspicuously to be found in those cathedrals which are restored, as Ely, Lichfield, Hereford, Llandaff, Chichester, and St. Paul's, have been or are in the course of being.

Can our architect then discover, I will not say an excuse, but any valid practical reasons, in the various uses to which the modern English cathedral may and ought to be put, for constructing it upon a scale and of a character sufficient to justify the use of that word cathedral in its secondary and architectural signification—a scale, that is, which fully rivals the dimensions of the most spacious of the plans of colonial churches?

Admitting the value of our episcopal system, there can be no doubt whatever as to the abstract and technical necessity, simultaneously with the extension of that system, of the erection, where wanted, of cathedral churches. But let us revert to the considerations which are involved in the idea of a cathedral as an institution. It is certain that the cathedral would not be perfect without the existence of a body of clergy, both to assist and counsel the Bishop and to serve the Church itself, and of frequent and solemn services at which that capitular body would properly and legitimately officiate. The existence of such a body—the “Chapter” as it is called—involves the construction of a choir of a capacity superior to that of an ordinary parochial church. Then again the specific duties which the Bishop himself has to perform, with the assistance of this Chapter—duties, that is, which are the formal cause why there should be an “*ecclesia cathedralis*”—a church with the bishop’s chair in it—are all of them of a nature which demand space for their due transaction. Visitations, whether episcopal or archidiaconal, bring together large bodies of the clergy, and their most appropriate place of gathering is the cathedral choir, where, in proportion as they become less of conventional formalities and more of administrative realities, the necessity for ample sitting-room will be increased. For these objects, at Montreal and Fredericton, as well as elsewhere, special accommodation has been liberally provided with the best effect in the eastern portion of the respective churches. Ordinations, again, are now

treated, as they should be, as very solemn realities, which ought not to be performed in a corner. The larger the congregation present is, the more edifying will that rite be; while the common sense of the world has begun to perceive that private chapels are not their most appropriate scene. Upon the additional importance to the rite which its performance in the cathedral itself would give to a town confirmation I need not enlarge; but confirmations emphatically require ample room for their various incidents. These are the absolute legal services and duties of the episcopate which most pressingly claim the cathedral church as the peculiar home of their celebration, and which necessitate, as the distinguishing feature of that church, an amplitude of space beyond that which is required for the "sittings" or "kneelings" of the average place of worship.

But I do not rest my case upon the mere letter of dry legality or of abstract appropriateness. If there were no other grounds for urging that the English cathedral of the nineteenth century was a want of the age, it might continue being a want until the century itself had passed into the twentieth. There has grown up of recent years a popular demand, manifesting itself in many ways, which can be best and most truly gratified in the manner which I am pointing out, and which will otherwise find its vent through channels of doubtful propriety, if not of grotesque incongruity.

Plainly and simply the English mind has declared itself on the one hand for popular choral services,

and on the other for preachings to the masses. The popularity which attends the introduction of vocal music and of organs into public worship in this country, both within and out of the Church of England, is a fact which is more generally recognised as of course than consciously noticed in its details and its bearings. There can be no question that the solemn Cathedral service, with all its stately accompaniments, is the highest developement of the principle which recognises the value of art and of set order in man's collective approach to his Creator. But every grimy troop of Primitive Methodists filling some lowly Ebenezer or Bethel on a Welsh mountain-side, and making the glen re-echo to their stentorian psalmody, bears testimony to the same truths. Once a set form of words, however mean or fanatical, and once the voice of melody, however vulgar or boisterous the tune may be, are admitted into the congregation assembled for worship, the fierce dispute about the lawfulness of a liturgical and musical service has been settled in the affirmative, and all that remains is question of degree. The Presbyterians, chanting their "paraphrases" in a Dumfriesshire kirk, are as much implicated in its recognition as the Bishops and Peers who gather at Westminster Abbey to anoint and crown their Sovereign. Indeed the continuous existence and unflagging popularity of the Cathedral service through generations of coldness and corruption indicate a current of popularity which must have run very strongly to have run so long. The revival of the Cathedral system, consequent on the Restoration, was not by any means

an absolutely necessary sequel to the revival of Episcopacy. Bishops were re-introduced into Scotland by Charles II., but neither the Prayer-book nor cathedral institutions were brought back with them, consequently the unquestioned re-establishment of choral service in England affords presumptive proof that the tide of popular feeling was not very adverse to musical worship. Still that was an age of vehement party conflict on either side, and it was quite possible that an artificial enthusiasm might for the moment carry what a more normal condition of sober public opinion would afterwards drop and forget. The crucial test was the quiet and undemonstrative but tenacious support which average English respectability gave to Cathedral music during the days of George I. and George II. in the provincial capitals, which, in those days of difficult traffic, represented the educated mind of the general people. At Exeter, at York, at Durham, in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, the execution of the service and the quality of the anthem was a strong point of provincial pride. The Dean might be haughty and overbearing, the Prebendaries rapacious and jobbing, and the entire Chapter suspected and unpopular; but the organist and the singing-men sustained the institution, and handed it on to better and more earnest days. We never should have been told by Gray how

“Through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise,”

if that anthem had not been as much a stock property

of the English mind as those items of the village world out of which the residue of his Elegy is woven. As it is, these lines have become a standing quotation in the nation which dwells with pleasure on that earlier and still grander passage of Milton which was certainly in Gray's eye when he composed the above couplet, and which forgets that the serious life's work of the writer was the destruction of all that he had here enshrined in immortal verse :—

“ Let my due feet never fail
To walk the shadowy cloisters pale,
And love the high embowed roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light ;
Then let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced quire below,
In service high and anthem clear,
As may with sweetness through mine ear
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.”

But it was not only in Cathedrals that the musical tastes of the people sustained the flagging devotions of that careless age. We do not require to turn to Fielding's first-hand or Macanlay's second-hand evidence to prove the low morals of a large mass of the clergy in the Georgian or just præ-Georgian days ; yet the parish churches of the land, in spite of sporting parson and of droning clerk, mustered their band of uncouth vocalists with fiddle and bassoon, Sunday after Sunday shouting quaint Sternhold and Hopkins or prosaic Tate and Brady, while the impatient spirits who followed the politic Wesley and the

fiery Whitefield into secession, reanimated each other's spirits, and multiplied tenfold their converts by the power of their hymn-singing. These facts, I say, which are so well known that I am almost ashamed of alluding to them even in this cursory manner, demonstrate that choral worship is not alien to the English character, and therefore that the musical functions of our Cathedrals present a claim as real as it is respectable for their multiplication. Indeed the Cathedrals themselves have embalmed a national institution which involves the very quintessence of the "reason why" of their existence. It was, unless I am much mistaken, early in the last century that the three choirs of the western Cathedrals, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, combined for an annual rotary festival. This festival has continued ever since. Occasionally some extraordinary festival has shot across the horizon, such as the Handel Commemorations of George III. and William IV., both held in Westminster Abbey before such Commemorations had obtained that distinct commercial value which it was reserved for Sydenham speculators to discover.

Contemporaneously with these demonstrations, the yearly muster of charity children in St. Paul's recurred with the same regularity as Lord Mayor's day. Most indubitably all these various festivals were in their accidents very odd, and it may be very undesirable, exhibitions for a cathedral. Most indubitably their announcement, side by side with plays and wax-works, was a just offence to serious men, and

in themselves they have often led to very irreverent arrangements of every sort. But as indubitably their unjustifiable features were accidents, and in themselves these recurrent solemnities were so many testimonies to the truth that our cathedrals were the rightful homes of solemn religious music wedded to concerted words taken from or embodying the Holy Scriptures. It was both natural and laudable that, in an age of revived sensitiveness about Church decencies, a strong protest should be entered against the worldliness, it may be profanity, of what was often no more than a concert, though of sacred music, not under a chandelier, but a groined roof. Still, taken at the worst, we have in them the natural protest in favour of the choral system; and it has been the happiness of our own especial age to see the wheat well winnowed in the realization of grand choral worship periodically displayed. When I refer to the choral festivals which have occurred at Lichfield, Southwell, Ely, and in other great churches, I have said enough. The broad fact is established that the unvitiated English mind has unmistakably declared in favour of solemn church-music in solemn churches and given on great occasions. But I go still further, and I venture to assert that the disuse of the cathedral service in our cathedrals would at any time have been an eminently unpopular measure. For this opinion I appeal to a very simple test; and I ask what would have been the general unprompted feeling of the Londoner, or the Englishman at large, if he had been told at any moment during the reign of any sovereign of the

House of Hanover that the choral service of St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey was to be discontinued? I venture, without fear of contradiction, to assert that the authors of such a change would have found themselves met with a universal paroxysm of indignation, partly violent and partly sulky, but unanimous in its expression; and, until this assertion of mine is contradicted, I adhere to the proposition with which I have started, and I venture to insist upon the assertion that the musical form of worship is natural and common to the present mind of the English people.

With regard, on the other hand, to the popularity of preachings to the masses, the metropolis has, as all know, during the last season, been rife with their abuse no less than their use. At first sight the two movements might seem antagonistic; they might be even assumed as indicative of that divergence between the two main ideas of man's intercourse with his Almighty Lord, which have been at the root of so many of the unhappy divisions of Christendom from time immemorial—which, as it must be sorrowfully confessed, will in all probability endure to the end of the world. But as the tolerant and wise moderation of the Church of England claims to give due scope to both these ideas, and to temper each of them by the presence of the opposite phase of truth, so in the outward manifestation of that Church of England in its highest and completest form of worship—in the English cathedral system—we have found, under the bowed roof of Westminster and the soaring dome of St. Paul's, that solemn service and popular preaching can be happily

married. By such a marriage, too, the Cathedral of Montreal was inaugurated across the ocean on Advent Sunday 1859. Nay, even in manifestations like the preaching at Exeter Hall, out of which the cathedral movement arose, if not even in those services in theatres, most objectionable as I do not fear to call them, has there not been a craving shown, however distorted in its manifestation, for religious gatherings of a larger and more metropolitan character than those which any parish church could afford ; and do we not find in this the germ, however imperfectly developed, of a popular desire for the cathedral system ? It was under the impression of this idea that I took advantage of the warm controversy which arose in the autumn of 1857 upon the subject of the Exeter Hall services, to address that letter to the *Times* which I have already produced. The paper complimented me with a reply to prove that I was very unpractical—a charge which I bore very patiently, knowing, as I did, that I was fairly open to this retort, from having taken advantage of a temporary excitement to give currency to general views, the direct application of which, however true in themselves, to the immediate subject-matter, I was well aware might not be very easy. Still the idea which I then pressed, in common with many other persons at different times, and foremost amongst them the Cathedral Commissioners of 1852, is one which has never loosed its hold of at least a thoughtful and influential minority, and which has recently been brought into prominence by an influential memorial of Churchmen of all complexions addressed

to the Prime Minister, and by a Bill which Lord Lytton has introduced into the House of Lords.

Few people indeed have hitherto gone forward much beyond claiming the conversion of certain existing large parochial or *ci-devant* abbey churches into cathedrals, in spite of several of them standing in towns of inferior size or importance. To-day, however, I have taken my stand upon a firmer as well as a broader ground, and I have ventured to assert that the work of raising the new cathedral, of making it wide in its area and stately in its architecture, is an enterprise which, if discreetly and moderately handled, may roll in upon the full spring tide of popularity, as the only expedient by which those services and those preachings can be provided in towns in which the Church has hitherto been powerless or neglected. The congregation claims the long-drawn nave, and the services require an extensive choir. I bespeak my reader's attention to the last remark, for I believe that, practically, the great stumbling-block to our architects and our church founders having ever seriously set about planning a new English cathedral, has not been the nave but the choir. On the contrary, the notion of raising a church which should hold so many thousands (with or without galleries) appeals directly to instincts rather than to principles, and is accordingly one of those ideas which, in this restless age, is sure of immediate popularity among the masses, who have not time, training, or inclination to work out a principle. Architecturally speaking indeed, a nave of cathedral character need not be a very large building,

as Waltham Abbey shows, in which that portion of the old church, a massive Romanesque construction, is only 100 feet long, and looks as small outside as it appears internally spacious. The transepts and choir have been destroyed since the Dissolution, though it was one of Henry VIII.'s proposed cathedrals; but the nave has recently been restored, in its character of parish church, by Mr. Burges, and the effect is that of a cathedral. In the mean while those who have ever thought of cathedral-building have, with the natural common-sense of Englishmen, rightfully felt that playing at long choirs with nobody to fill them would be tampering with truth, both in its artistic and its moral phase. It would be palpably unreal, and in consequence it would be justly unpopular. The old cathedrals of England present long choirs, because when they were built there existed a long list of canons, and prebendaries, and vicars-choral to tenant some of them,—and of Benedictine monks in their different degrees to occupy the rest. But this state of matters, they argue, is now entirely changed. What need have the dean, and the residentiary, and the minor canon, and the six men, and the ten boys, of any great superfluity of sitting room, even supposing they require a new church to be built for them? To be sure there are the visitations to be thought of, but visitations come but rarely, and hardly require permanent provision. “Find the men for the stalls,” they cry, “and we will find the stalls for the men.”

Here then is my point; the new cathedral, if it

exists at all, must be an eminently popular and practical institution; and so, starting from this axiom, I argue that its popularity and practicability will very greatly turn upon its being worked by a volunteer choir. I see nothing impossible or improbable in the suggestion. There is but one obstacle to its realization, and that is every day melting away; I mean the proverbial solitude-loving *mauvaise honte* of the Englishman. Other countries may, in spite of their boasting, have as much *mauvaise honte*, or, what is equivalent to *mauvaise honte*, the inability to move without leading-strings, which reduces their inhabitants to the condition of willing slaves of bureaucratic despotism. But the distinction of the Englishman's *mauvaise honte* is that it is solitary. When he is out of sorts, either angry or baffled, or in love or bankrupt, his instinct is to crouch up by his own chimney-corner, and slam his own door upon himself. The foreigner rushes to the café, or puffs his cigar upon the public walk. So too the Englishman has a weakness, too often more exaggerated than convenient, to rent a self-contained house rather than an apartment. It is to the existence of this undefinable, uneasy feeling, this endemic *malaise*, rather than to any very deep philosophic or theological feeling, that I should attribute much of the variable, local, and capricious unpopularity of certain portions of the cathedral system of worship, when indiscreetly revived on new soils which had not been prepared for them. The *méchamment honteux* Englishman dreads above all things to be caught-out in what he thinks an outlandish dress in a crowd. So

the shy worshipper fears that he should himself feel out of ease if he stood in a crowded church dressed so unusually ("like a Guy," as he probably says) as he would be if he wore a surplice; and so he transfers his own feelings to the fellow-countrymen he sees before him, very comfortable as they are, if not indeed rather proud of their surplices. He then, by an easy flight of imagination, transmutes his astonishment at their ways of proceeding into a sort of sullen indignation against certain imaginary tyrants, who had, by some utterly impossible legerdemain, transformed free and coated Englishmen into surpliced and singing choirmen. All along, as I have shown, the surpliced and singing choirman was an eminently popular character where the average Englishman thought him at home, where his dress was not voted outlandish, nor his person a Guy, namely, in the cathedral and the collegiate church, and the royal and college chapels. If there had been any real foundation for the scruple (eminently respectable as it might have been), that scruple would have been most manifest in the latter instances; for an abomination *in excelsis* must be more hateful to man and heaven than an abomination in private and influential circles. The fact that the contrary is the case throws back the objection into the category of *mauvaise honte*, and leaves it to be dealt with as a phase of that phenomenon, while the confessed popularity of cathedral service in cathedrals stands out as the expression of solid English feeling as to the rightful type of the best sort of worship in the best sort of place. But again we are told that the average

Englishman does not like pomp. He likes to have and to use his snug little parish church in his own snug way. As a rule, this may be the case; I have not contradicted the assertion. But that he dislikes the exception—and the frequent exception too—that he does not often, by choice, seek the ampler elbow-room, may be of St. Paul's and Westminster, may be of the Exeter Hall preachings, is emphatically not the case. It may be true that he is shy about taking his holiday, but the world's onward progress is a perpetual antagonism to that shyness. The railway station, with its fluctuating thousands, has replaced the sulky booking-office, Gloucester Coffee-house, or Elephant and Castle. The long train stands in the place of the compact stage-coach; great central hotels, with their machinery of lifts and their array of coffee-rooms, are gradually encroaching on the tavern and the lodging-house. Can then the influence of this same spirit—this increasing appreciation of vastness—this greater aptitude for living and moving in a crowd—not make itself felt in man's religious transactions? Get rid accordingly of *mauvaise honte* in any congregation of Englishmen, and the success of the cathedral system if introduced is sure as against the popularity of the bare reader and responsive clerk. Already we have seen the Sunday evening services at St. Paul's worked by a volunteer choir. The Crystal Palace and Exeter Hall concerts are also triumphs of that spirit of musical association which Mr. Hullah—to pay honour where honour is due, to one with whom all must at this time most deeply

sympathise — has done so much to foster. Choir festivals are already, as I have shown, the rule in several dioceses. But to take an example from another manifestation of corporate spirit with which Great Britain is at this moment upheaved from Cornwall to Caithness, who would have dreamed but a little time ago that quiet and busy unmartial Englishmen would by the tens and the hundreds of thousands, moved by one mighty spirit, have banded themselves together to undergo the drudgery and physical fatigue of drill, and the obligation of learning the complications of military evolution, and of wearing the consequent uniform? In the success of the rifle movement I hail the defeat of *mauvaise honte*, and with the defeat of *mauvaise honte* I see the only obstacle removed to a hearty collective choral movement of our young Church volunteers, out of which, both morally and materially, so much good may come. I may go further, and say that the rifle movement is the direct answer to two of the shallowest and commonest objections to the choral system, its discipline and its dress. The volunteer choir must obey the word of command; so do the riflemen. The volunteer choir is probably invited to put on a distinctive garb. The rifle company has not even an option on this point. Yet it is presumed that voluntary military discipline and voluntary military attire is the safeguard of freedom and enlightenment in England against the hostile aggressions of despotism. Why then should the robed pomp of the choral system be taken as the harbinger of

superstition and spiritual bondage? Such a movement must rise spontaneously from below, and not be *octroyé* where the local public mind is unfelt or unprepared; and therefore it is most likely to thrive when in connection with such a movement as that for cathedrals, a movement in which weighty and recognised authority would exist to regulate, while it cheered, a newly awakened enthusiasm. For the truth of my remark I may appeal to the services in a spacious church rebuilt just twenty years ago, the moral status of which in its own huge town is that of a cathedral, worked under the guidance of a man whose influence and powers were virtually prelatie. I mean Leeds parish church and its late vicar Dr. Hook. In that church, planted among gigantic mills and crowded alleys, out of nothing grew up the daily choral service, the large volunteer band of choristers, the crowded and hearty congregation; and now at Chichester the Dean has carried the plan for a restoration of his cathedral church, which will exhibit, when the late disaster is repaired, like results within an ancient minster. The volunteer cathedral choir will of course muster the majority of its recruits among the middle class of its locality; and it will thus be led to connect itself with, if not to grow out of, all those philanthropic and social organizations, such as Friendly Societies, Odd Fellows' Lodges, and so forth, which will continue to exist whether the Church and the cathedral like them or no, and which ought, therefore, to be made the friends and not the enemies of that institution, which, if rightly understood and

rightly worked, is the most comprehensive and the most liberal which the world contains. If these bodies look upon the new cathedral as rising up to open its gates to hallow their festive anniversaries, it will go well with them and with it also. If not, they will be off to the meeting-house or Socialist hall, while the cathedral will die out in the unpopularity of its dignity. So much for the every-day use of an extensive choir ; upon its utility on occasions of special clerical assemblage I need not enlarge, further than to say that I am, perhaps, owing to local circumstances, more alive to the advantage of an orderly choir for visitations than other persons may possibly be. As a Kentish churchwarden I have been in the habit of attending those gatherings at Maidstone, where the large old church, well restored, still retains an extensive range of choir stalls, which are, on these occasions, duly filled with the clergy present. The same church in its spacious vestry-room is the scene of the consultative meetings of the rural deanery in which it stands, and which are of course preceded by Divine Service, at which the clergy occupy the stalls. The advantage of this orderly arrangement over the disorderly crowding, which is so common in other places on such occasions, needs only to be seen to be appreciated.

On an average, then, the largest of the plans which I have given do not, as a rule, more than come up to the scale which I claim for my new cathedral—a cathedral in a large English town ; while those which are smaller with all their merit fall below it, even to a

considerable extent. For this physical shortcoming I impute no blame, for these churches were designed for the colonies or abroad, for Scotland, for a village in Ireland : and so there was no necessity or room to make provision for a large volunteer choir or a crowded visitation. But if we take the choir of any of them, and if we conceive it to receive the extension which its architect would have given to it if the need had been pressed upon him, we shall, in each case, see something approaching the ideal cathedral of this century.

CHAPTER V.

BASILICAN AND ENGLISH ARRANGEMENTS.

Extracts from Historical Essay on Architecture — Examples of Basilicæ — Civitas Dei — Monasticism and its churches — Mediæval cathedrals — Modern English society and its requirements.

I HAVE now reached a stage in the discussion when I must again beg my readers not to be impatient with me for conducting them through the sinuosities of a somewhat argumentative digression. I have hitherto assumed for granted that the general ground-plan of my cathedral ought to be the one which has been consecrated by the immemorial usage of English antiquity — not to talk of the preponderating custom of all Western Europe for at least eight centuries—a usage which, as we have seen, has reproduced itself in a simplified and chastened form in the arrangements of the English cathedrals built or arranged during the three last centuries of our national existence. With such a consensus to back me, I should indeed be amply justified in taking this position for granted without further inquiry. As, however, I am aware that it is liable to be impugned upon grounds which, although they do not carry conviction to me, are not only respectable but weighty, and are, I believe, held more or less strongly by

persons deserving of all respect, I feel it due to my subject to discuss the matter analytically.

I need hardly repeat the details which have been so often repeated since the study of Christian architectural antiquities has become fashionable, of the modifying effects upon the external rites of the Christian Church of the political and material condition of Rome and of its public buildings at the period of Constantine's conversion, and the consequent public recognition of the Christian cultus. The words in which my father described the phenomenon in days when there were few people in England who would so much as care to understand the question are still so clear and apposite that I make no excuse for availing myself of them in several long extracts, rather than having recourse to my inferior phraseology.*

“But there was in use at Rome another species of building, whose form seemed better calculated for the exigencies of Christian worship” [than the heathen temple], “while its destination seemed less hostile to the holiness of Christian mysteries.

“This was the hall, first, as appears from Vitruvius, only forming part of the palace of the sovereigns, and thence called Basilica, where they or their delegates administered justice. These, as we collect from Pliny (l. vi. cap. 33), had gradually increased at Rome to

* It is ever to be regretted that the posthumous publication of this treatise has led to its appearance in a very different form from that in which its writer would have put it out; *e.g.* everybody concerned in the publication mistook the writer's “x” for an “n,” and he is accordingly, even down to the third edition, which I am now using, made constantly to talk of the *narthen* of a church, a blunder of which I need hardly say he was incapable.

the number of eighteen; and though originally courts of justice, many had become places of exchange, in the body of which merchants and others might transact business, while the recesses were frequented by clerks and officers, ready on the spot to adjust differences, and to decide points of law, that might arise between those engaged in traffic.

“Of these halls, or basilicas, the excavations made at Otricoli, in the year 1775, brought to light an original specimen, probably very diminutive compared with many of those at Rome, of which the searches lately made in that city, on the site of Trajan’s forum, have, at a more recent period, displayed some magnificent relics.

“While the temple offered to the view external rows of columns, more or less numerous, preceding and surrounding its cella, the basilica seems to have presented outwardly nothing but a close bare wall. Whatever porch it might possess was within this, and made no display on the exterior: its principal area, of an oblong form, was divided by a double range of columns into a central avenue, and two lateral aisles, in one of which waited the male, in the other the female, candidates for justice. These three longitudinal divisions were terminated by another of a transverse direction, raised a few steps above them, whose length embraced their collective width, and whose destination was to hold the advocates, the notaries, and others engaged in prosecuting causes. Opposite the central avenue, this transept swelled out into one of those semicircular recesses, or terminations, with a ceiling rounded off like the head or conch of a niche, so fre-

quent in the later Roman buildings, called in Greek *Absis*, and in Latin *Tribuna*. In this sat the magistrate, with his assessors, and from this courts of justice have since been called Tribunals. Other recesses, semicircular or square, opposite to the lateral avenues, served for different purposes of convenience."

After some further details, and mentioning the porch, the writer continues :—"Within the edifice was the narthex, into which, and no farther, penitents and catechumens were admitted ; secondly, the naos ; thirdly, the bema, or sanctuary, which was separated from the nave, not only by cancelli or rails (whence chancel), but also a curtain, which was only withdrawn during a short part of the service. In this part was the absis, or concha. A division of the nave, near its upper end, was by a few steps formed into a somewhat more elevated platform, railed in for the exclusive reception of the minor clergy and the singers, and was called in Greek *choros*, and in Latin *cancellum*, and may still be seen in its complete ancient form at Rome, in San Clemente, and in the Venetian Lagunes, in the ancient dome of Torcello, while at Rome San Lorenzo, and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, only continue to show the platform stripped of its enclosure ; not only the people were excluded from the cancellum, or choir, by a solid enclosure, but veils were sometimes interposed between : within the enclosure, in the earlier churches, such as San Lorenzo and Sta. Maria in Cosmedin facing each other, and in others of later construction, such as Sta. Maria in Araceli, San Cesario, and San Nereo and Achilleo, on the same

line rose two marble pulpits, called ambones, that on the right for reading the Scriptures, and that on the left for reading the Epistles, the former flanked by the small marble pillar on which was placed the paschal candle. These ambones, Ciampini tells us, fell into disuse at Rome during the removal of the pontifical chair to Avignon, in 1309, and though left in some churches were in others removed as obsolete.

“During the service the laity occupied in the aisles the space on each side of the choir, the males that to the right, the females that to the left; except in the few churches, in which, as in San Lorenzo, Santa Agnese, and the Quattro Santi Incoronati, from the first had been contrived under the roof of the aisles a gallery open to the nave, where the women might sit and see the service in still more complete seclusion from the men, a fashion afterwards universally adopted in the East, where in every age, and under the influence of every religion, the two sexes were in public more carefully kept asunder, and which even crept thence into many churches of the West; first, where the intercourse with Constantinople was more frequent, and subsequently even on this side the Alps. Witness not only at Venice St. Mark’s church, at Milan that of Sant’ Ambrogio, the dome of Modena, the church of San Michele at Padua, but the cathedrals of Zurich, of Andernach, of Boppard, and of Bonn.

“The nave and aisles of these basilicas abutted against a transverse wall, which, through a vast central arch opposite the former, and lesser lateral arches opposite each of the latter, gave entrance into the

transept, and that part which composed the sanctuary, as is still at Rome in San Paolo, San Lorenzo, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sta. Agnese, and every other church of that era; and the central arch leading to and from the very entrance of the nave, showing beyond it the sanctuary, the tomb of the martyr to whom the church was consecrated, the altar over that tomb, and the crucifix, and trophies of the triumph of Christianity, was thence, in opposition to the triumphal arches of the heathens, destined to commemorate their early victories called by the same name. The transept, the floor of which at the entrance from the nave and the aisles was elevated by some steps above the level of both, and even of the choir that stood before it, as has been already observed, formed the sanctuary or place destined for the performance of religious offices.

“We have had occasion to remark that the first places of meeting and worship of Christians were catacombs; and the tombs of the earlier saints and martyrs that died, or were deposited in these excavations, the altars on which the survivors performed their sacred rites. By degrees, therefore, as the bodies and remains of saints and martyrs came to be considered as gifted with a peculiar sanctity, the custom prevailed of building churches over their tombs; and gradually, if a church were wanted in a place not thus sanctified, these relics were transferred thither from some other spot where no sacred edifice had been erected, till at length it became the rule never to consecrate an altar ere the remains of some saint had been placed within its bosom, or under its base. The Empress Con-

stantia, wife of Maurice, wishing for some limb of St. Paul, of whom Pope Gregory possessed the body, for some church she was building at Constantinople, applied, perhaps indiscreetly, to that pope, by whom compliance was haughtily refused.

“When, however, the holy relics were of peculiar importance, and collected from afar a great number of pilgrims, a more conspicuous situation was gradually given to them, and more room was afforded to perform round them the wished-for devotions, by placing them in the centre of a spacious and lofty crypt, or vault, which was partly raised above the general level of the floor, and partly sunk beneath it. This vault was approachable from the nave or transept by a certain number of steps descending downwards; but its contents might be viewed from above, through grated apertures. From it, other steps ascended to that part of the sanctuary raised over the crypt; and immediately over the tomb of the saint was placed the altar (always single in the primitive churches, and still remaining so, not only in those of the Greek, but the Latin rite of Ambrosius), which thus, from its greater altitude, became from the nave a more central and conspicuous object: and as the place of martyrdom where the saint had, for the last time, confessed his faith and established his sanctity, and the tomb in which he rested had been called confession, these crypts retained that denomination.”

“No longer destined to overflow with the blood of reeking victims, but only to bear their symbolical substitute, in the consecrated bread and wine, emblems

of the body and blood of our Saviour, the altar of the churches combined with the character of the tomb that of the table, and received a form analogous to both : uncovered at first, it acquired by degrees the dignity and protection of a canopy supported on four pillars, and made, in early times, in the shape of a small temple, or tabernacle, such as still may be seen in San Clemente, San Cesario, Santa Agnese, and other churches ; and which form, protecting the holy aliment, derived, like its more immediate receptacle, the name of ciborium.

“I have already observed, that the pagan basilica terminated opposite the nave in a semicircular recess, called absis, or tribune, rounded off at the top in the shape of a semi-cupola, like the conch of a round-headed niche, in which sat the magistrate, supported, right and left, by his assessors. This absis was, in the Christian basilicas, regularly preserved, and became the presbytery, or receptacle of the superior clergy. In its centre stood the marble seat, or throne of the bishop, raised sufficiently high to enable him, as his very title required, though placed behind the altar, to survey, as well as to be seen by, the assembled congregation. The seats of the higher clergy filled the remainder of the niche, and formed what was called, in Greek, the *synthronos* ; in Latin, the *consessus* : and absides, thus distributed, we still see in reality at Rome, in San Paolo, Santa Agnese, San Clemente, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and San Cesario ; at Ravenna, in Sant’ Apollinare di Fuori ; and at Torcello, in its ancient most theatrical form—

a long flight of steps ascending to the throne, round which the semicircular seats of the clergy are ranged in many successive tiers; while a fine representation of them in mosaic may be seen at Rome, in the absis of San Nereo and Achilleo; near the Porta Capena, where, right and left of the central bishop's throne, appear seated two rows of bearded personages, the uppermost mitred, and the lower only deacons.

“In later times, when altars, no longer insulated, did not permit the bishops and the clergy to be seen behind them, the presbytery shifted its quarters from the absis at its back, to the choir in its front.”

I may parenthetically observe that I believe there would not be much difficulty in proving that the early Christians, in their transient gleams of peace, had already begun to imitate the basilica in those permanent churches which they were fortunate enough to be able to erect in various cities of the Roman empire in præ-Constantinian days. But this is nothing to the main question. It is assuredly certain that the basilica was in the fourth century nearly all over the Christian world, and for several centuries afterwards all through the West, the model of the Christian church; that civil basilicæ were turned into churches when practicable, and when the church had to be built that the basilicæ gave the plan. It is equally certain that the ages which witnessed the gradual deflection from the basilican plan, and the gradual building up of that plan with which we are familiar, were ages of gradual corruption in the Christian Church. It might then appear a natural inference from these two circum-

stances that in an ideal cathedral, to be built in an age noticeable for the critical impartiality with which it handles the accidents of preceding centuries, it would be more reasonable for us to go back to the basilica for our forms, and to reproduce them for the benefit of posterity, than to rest content with a modernised imitation of more easy and popular arrangements, which were perfected in the full complexity of their mediæval pomp for the use of cloistered communities. I have purposely stated my case as unfavourably as I can to myself, in order the better to show the fallacy on which the opposite theory rests. Preliminarily, however, I must observe that this is a question with which architecture has nothing in the world to do. I should be sorry if it were to be assumed that the argument against basilican arrangements were to be considered as an argument in favour of Gothic details. On the contrary, I am fully of opinion that Pointed architecture would lend itself just as readily to the elaboration of one system as of the other. Indeed, if anything could reconcile me to the experiment, it would be the desire to see the fresh triumph of Gothic, which I am certain would follow its employment in the hands of a man of genius, to carry out in their full integrity and their majestic amplitude of space the disciplinary and ritual prescriptions of a Constantinian basilica intended for the use of a great metropolis. It is because I honestly believe that the experiment would be unreal in our days that I am compelled to pronounce against it.

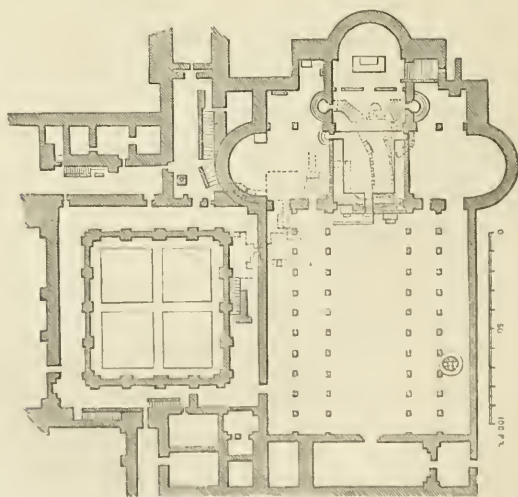
On the one hand, there would be found a false anti-

quarianism, a forced and exaggerated return to a state of feeling, civilization, and laws which never can recur. On the other, I believe there exists that wise spirit of moderate and retrospective progressionism, that liberal conservatism, which is content to advance step by step and take advantage of the successive augmentations not less than of the successive backslidings of every age in its work of building up the stable present. The revival of the basilica in its reality would be nothing more nor less than the revival of the Roman community of the days of Constantine and Theodosius. The retention of the reformational modification of the mediæval cathedral is the correlative of the historical progress of the English people, who now in the days of Victoria, as once in the days of Edward III., possess their House of Lords and House of Commons, their courts of common law and equity, and their episcopal church—the same in their basis, yet altered, developed, improved, and reformed by the progressive wisdom of centuries.

Architecture, as I have said, does not cross the path of the discussion, neither do polemics. Both sides are agreed that the cathedral of the future is not to be Papal. The question lies between a præ-Papal and a post-Papal form.

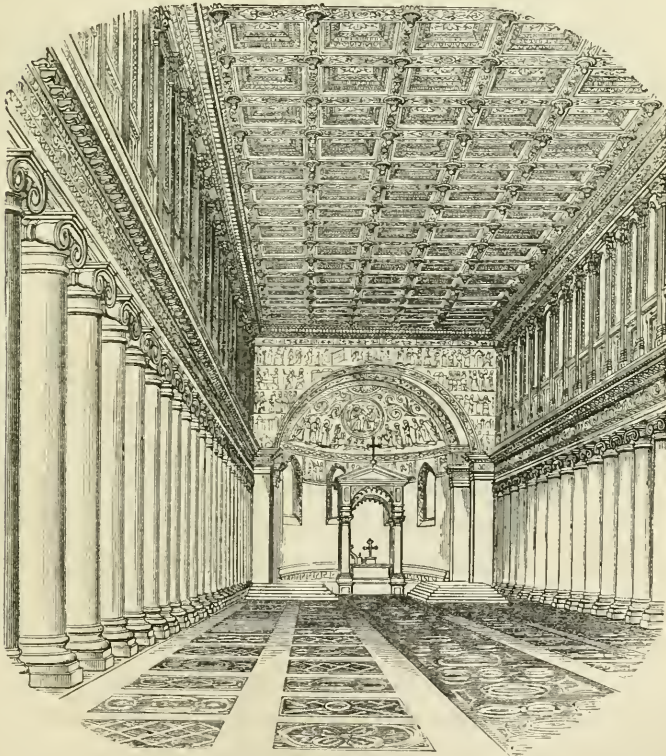
In primitive days congregational worship was not public merely—it was also corporate. The congregation was not merely divided into clergy and laity, and the latter were not ostensibly voluntary and irresponsible attendants. Neither was the rule of worship regulated merely by the specific character of

the act of worship performed, as it is in our cathedrals, where the officiators choose one place for the morning and evening services, another for the Litany, and another for the celebration of the Holy Communion. Great as was the respect of the early Church for the sacred mysteries, another idea dominated the arrangements of the "house of assembly" (*ecclesia*), which I shall indicate after I have marshalled my examples. As we have seen, every basilica either had actually been or was modelled after a heathen court of justice; while the use of the basilican model lasted down all through the centuries during which the Gothic and Lombard kingdoms replaced in Italy itself the old empire, and for generations after Charles the Frank had consolidated the Teutonic supremacy by transporting the name and the pomp of the Cæsardom to the forests of Rhineland. Still it remains to be



proved that the idea of the basilica had not been a traditionary, if not a dead, one long before its actual transmutation into the more modern cathedral.

For a tangible instance of the antiquity of the basilican form of church, even in Asia, I may refer to Pergamos, in Asia Minor, where there are the ruins of a basilica of the simplest plan, which is supposed to date back to the beginning of the fourth century. The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem (No. 39), built over the sacred grotto, which in its main features



is still the work of very remote, if it be not of Constantinian antiquity, while strictly a basilica in itself, is likewise a prototype of another class of arrangements, which, as I shall show further on, were destined to play an important part in the transmutation of the basilica. I mean those arrangements which were connected with crypts, to which reference has been made in the extracts from the Historical Essay on Architecture. I need only now call attention to the dotted lines on the accompanying plan, which indicate the grotto itself, running under the choir of the church above.

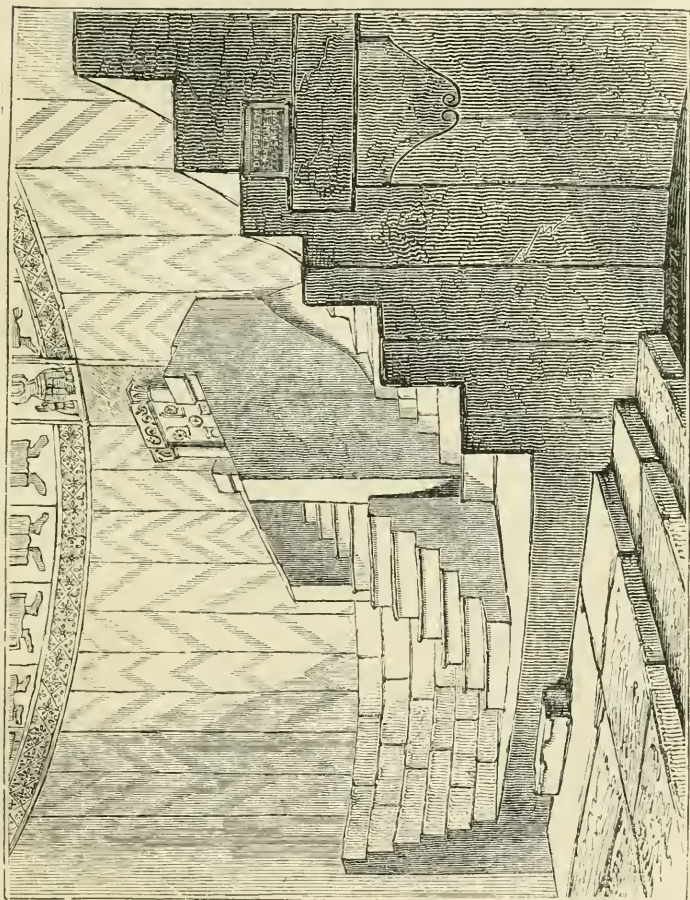
In spite of much architectural modernization in the nave, and of the pointed windows in the apse, which show the work of the middle ages, the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, one of the seven principal basilicæ of the city, still preserves its basilican appearance with considerable completeness, and I therefore offer a woodcut of its interior. (No. 40.)



41. Plan of S. Clemente,
Rome.
100 feet to inch.

But of all existing churches the two in which the basilican traditions have descended to us with the utmost completeness are both of them edifices which in their present form date from a period posterior by centuries to the fall of the Western Empire. The often quoted S. Clemente at Rome was rebuilt at the commencement of the ninth century, and very recently the foundations of the more ancient basilica have been discovered under the existing structure. (No. 41.)

In this church, as well as in Sta. Maria Maggiore, it will at once be observed that only a single bench-range runs round the apse. It is otherwise in the famous basilica of Torcello (No. 42), now a desolate island in



Interior of Cathedral at Torcello.

42.

the lagoon of Venice, a little northward of that city, but formerly a rival—if not an older rival—of the sea-queen. Mr. Fergusson fixes the date of the actual building in the first years of the eleventh century,

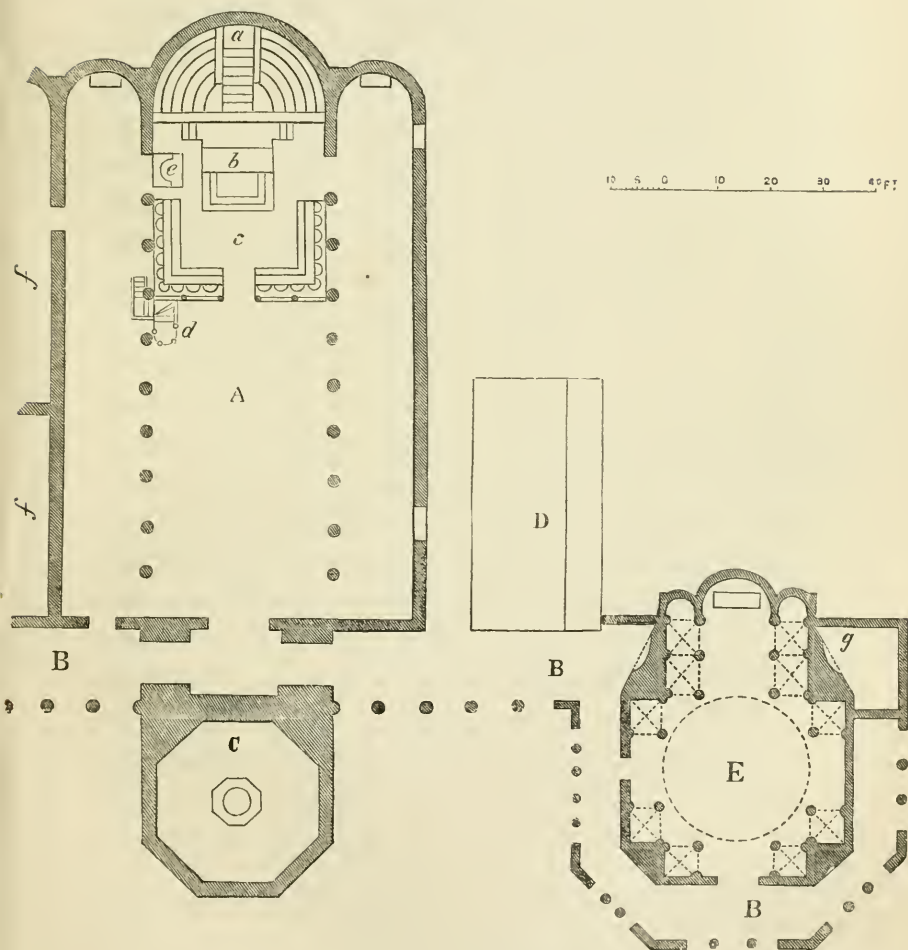
when it replaced an "older church belonging to the seventh century." He adds, "It is uncertain how far the present erection takes the form and arrangement of the older edifice." A somewhat hasty inspection of it during the last summer gave me the impression of extreme antiquity, and I should be willing to suppose that, for the purposes, at all events, of study, the structure introduced us to far earlier days. Be this as it may, at Torcello the episcopal cathedra is raised aloft in the bema, or apse, while round it, like a classical theatre, range three tiers of seats for the clergy, with intermediate steps.

Mr. Fergusson, indeed, talks of six ranges of seats, therein agreeing with Mr. Webb's 'Continental Ecclesiology,' while Gally Knight discovered eight. But it was evident to me on examination that only three of the ranges were really sittings, the remainder having served as steps and footrests. The woodcut shows (though rather imperfectly) the difference of height in the risings as they abut upon the solid walls which protect the steep steps leading to the cathedra.

The accompanying plan of the church (No. 43), which is borrowed with improvements from Mr. Webb's very valuable work, is probably the most correct which has yet appeared in England.* It shows

* Mr. Fergusson's plan places the ambo on the wrong side and omits the stalls. The references are—*A*, nave; *B*, external colonnade, or narthex; *C*, baptistery; *E*, small church of Sta. Fosca, remarkable for the form of its plan (which seems to have furnished the model of several Renaissance churches in Italy, and at secondhand of St. Stephen's, Walbrook); *a*, original bishop's throne; *b*, altar; *c*, choir; *d*, pulpit, or ambo; *e*, more modern bishop's throne.

alike the more primitive distribution of the east end and the mediæval choir-screen and stalls which stand in front of the earlier altar and bema. I may further note that S. Clemente and Torcello indicate that the transepts which I have, like my father, assumed as belonging to the complete ideal of the basilica, were not an indispensable feature of the structure.

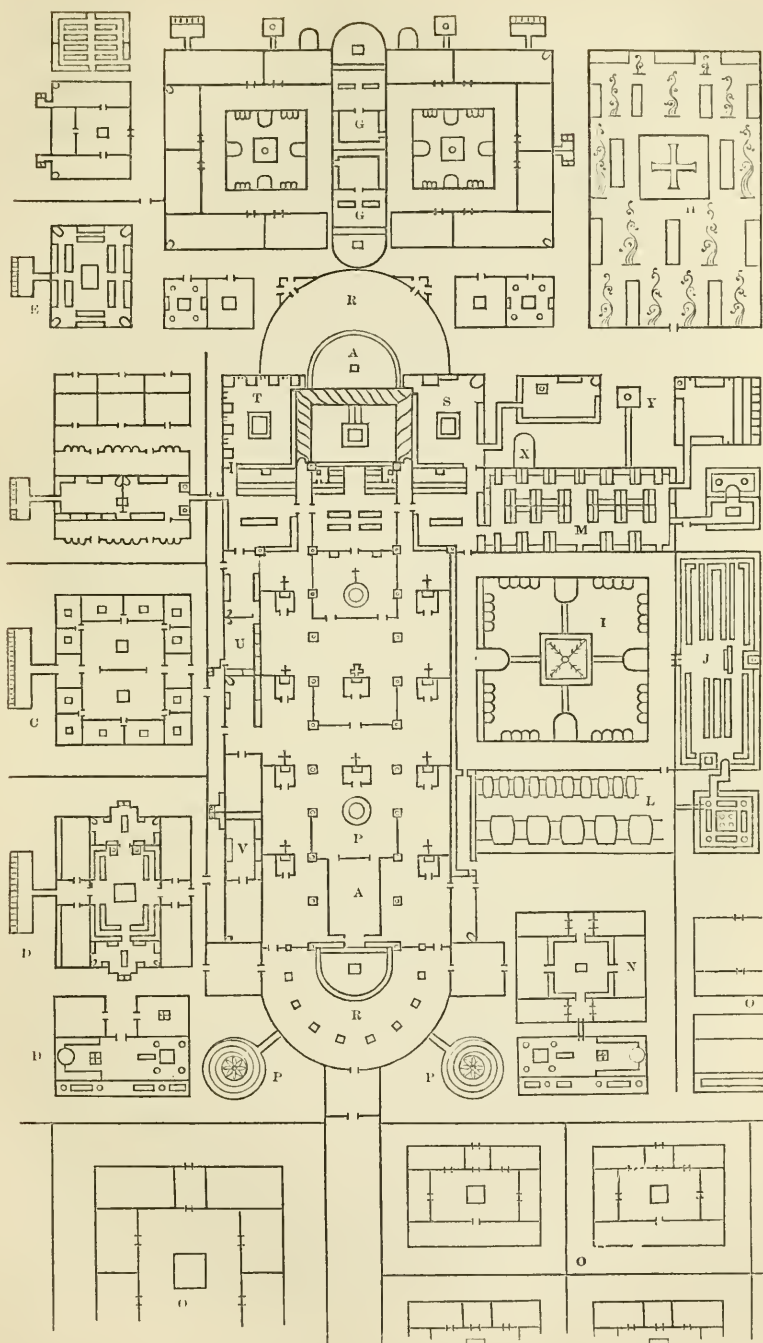


Plan of Forcello Cathedral and Sta. Fosca.

S. Clemente and Torcello are buildings which still exist to tell their own tale, and both stand on Italian soil. I must, in addition, adduce the virtually contemporaneous plan of a church, from the north of the Alps, which has long been destroyed, if it ever existed in reality. There exists to this day among the archives of the Abbey of S. Gall, in Switzerland, a venerable plan on parchment of a large abbey-church and dependencies, belonging, by internal evidence, to the beginning of the ninth century. It was first published by Mabillon, and it has in our own time been republished in facsimile by M. Keller at Zurich in 1844, and (as far at least as the church is concerned) several times engraved in various publications both English and foreign, of which I borrow the one which appeared in Mr. Fergusson's work (No. 44).* The recognised theory is that this design was sent from France *pour fixer les idées* of an abbot Gospertus; and it is not quite certain whether he actually built the pile according to his model, much less is it certain that it is due to the invention of the famous Eigenhard. Still the plan is that of the ideal minster of the ninth century, and it is, therefore, as valuable to us in the nineteenth as if it had been actually constructed.

With the materials before us of so many basilicæ we can resume our investigation. I have intimated my conviction that the idea involved in the arrangements of a basilica was not simply that of the wor-

* I believe its earliest publication in England was in the 'Ecclesiologist' at the commencement of 1846.



ship in its various kinds performed within the church, but was the type of the state of society existing in Constantinian, but not in Carlovingian, Rome. If I am right in my conjecture, then, long as the basilica may have been extant, it had long outlasted reality.

The early Christian Church was unquestionably "Civitas Dei" to a greater extent than the Church has ever since been able to become. This distinctiveness of corporate character arose not only from its own unity and purity, but from the depth of civilized corruption in the Pagan world around. North and south, east and west, reigned the same fearful, inevitable, "Res Romana," an empire of ungodliness, which seemed almost conterminous with the wide world itself. Isolated accordingly from all the gravest habits of thought, no less than the popular amusements, of the empire—within, though hardly of, which the early Christians were—they were thrown back upon the organization of their own interior commonwealth, with a depth of veneration and a passionateness of devotion of which the denizens of a Christianised world can hardly form a conception. This *Res Romana* was absolutely alien to them in its nobler aspirations, no less than in the depths of its unutterable corruption. Its corruption was a foul and confused mass of abnormal sensuality, cruelty, puerile superstition, and atheism. But even in its better aspect it was an organized rebellion against an external and independent revelation, in the form of a national religion where the state claimed not only to define the forms

but to create the gods. It was an act of citizenship, and not of faith, to invoke—

*Di patrii, Indigetes et Romule, Vestaque mater
Quæ Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas ;*

and the conquering Augustus went to war—

Cum patribus, populoque, Penatibus, et magnis Dis ;

and so the genius of each living Augustus, and the divinity of such of his predecessors as were not obnoxious to the actual representatives of the Cæsar-dom, became in time the official recipients of the political worship. Against this wickedness it was the mission of the early Christians to protest with their life-blood. Their Lord of Lords and King of Kings was the Eternal Trinity, worshipped through the Incarnate Son ; and in proportion as the Roman state was leagued to uphold its adulterate cultus, so the Christian commonwealth was banded round the universal Cross. Suddenly freed from the impending dread of martyrdom, and ensieved with spacious places of worship, and the means of building others, by Constantine, the long-persecuted Christians most naturally carried the expression of their whole system, administrative and hierarchical as well as ritual, into the distribution of their basilicæ. The basilica was the church, the court of justice, the chapter-house, and the comitia of the sacred republic. Nay, it was the place of punishment also, for the open shame to which the excommunicate and the “flentes” were for long years put in the eyes of their fellow Christians was no small element of

primitive discipline. Accordingly the semicircular tribunal of justice became, without a change, the seat of the bishop and his attendant clergy—for synodical deliberation no less than for common worship. They sat there, not merely as ecclesiastics who were either conducting the service or showing forth the example of their own devotions to the people, but as the rulers of the congregated fold upon the seat of majesty. Very soon, or rather simultaneously, another sense, not founded on its material introduction into the Christian economy, but deeply and logically significative, was attached to the semicircular array of clergy. It was no longer the mere transmuted tribunal of the civil judges of the Roman Commonwealth, but the emblem of the Apocalyptic session of the Elders round the Divine Throne. The art of the mosaicist was called in to heighten the significance of this idea, and the conch of the apse displayed the gigantic and awful effigy of the Saviour in judgment, either alone or in company with angels, apostles, or saints. Sometimes other representations were shown, but the lesson taught was always of the same character; while the arch between the nave and the transepts received the name of the Triumphal Arch, and the broad wall-space over its span was also storied with sacred imagery.

In the reassignment of the basilica to the needs of Christian worship there might have been a difficulty in the selection of the place to be occupied by the holiest spot of all—the altar. But the conjoint fact of the magisterial session of the clergy in the

bema, and of the symbolical signification assigned to that session, at once raised and solved the difficulty. The Apocalypse not only revealed "God who sitteth upon the throne," but also the Lamb who was slain. Our Lord appears there alike as King and Priest, and as the Victim also, and the basilica had to show Him forth in both characters. The bishop throned at the extremity of the apse furnished one manifestation, the other was sought in the altar and its sacrament. The position for the altar which we should think most natural—the extreme end of the choir—would not have corresponded with the entire conception, for it would have displaced the throne, so the altar was placed forward and detached between the tribunal and the people, while the officiating priest took his place on its far side (as viewed from the nave), looking over it and towards the general congregation.

The reason why the builders of the comparatively late basilica of Torcello—comparatively late even if the work of the seventh century, when it was founded—should have adopted the more grandiose yet theatrical form of the stepped bema, while earlier and larger churches seem to have been contented with the single "hemicycle" (to use the classical term), is a problem into the solution of which I do not venture to enter, while I gladly propose it to the research of ecclesiastical antiquarians. It may have been an individual or a local peculiarity, or it may be the last specimen left in the world of a species once more extensively spread. The mosaic in the Roman church of San Nereo and San Achilleo, referred to in the extracts

which I have given from my father's book, would favour the latter supposition. It is certain that, in any aspect of the matter, the Torcello usage is most valuable as a key to the general spirit of the basilican type of church.* Another key is furnished by the fact that up to nearly the close of the fifteenth century the stone cathedra, which still stands at the extreme east end of the Ambrosian Basilica at Milan, was flanked by twelve similar cathedræ of the same

* I believe that this key might once have had many locks in Venice; but early ecclesiastical Venice has almost perished—præ-Gothic ecclesiastical Venice I mean. There are but three fragments of that marvellous creation of the fifth century:—1. This cathedral of Torcello; 2. The later but very interesting basilica of Murano (a nearer and still inhabited island town); 3. The Doge's private chapel of S. Mark, an official imitation of the church architecture of Constantinople, commenced in the tenth century. The residue is gone for ever, building and record. The Gothic churches of Venice were mainly new institutions in new locales. But until the great reconstruction of churches consequent on the Renaissance, there must have been many early monuments at Venice. The cathedral of that city, until 1805, was S. Pietro in Castello, a church standing on a minor island in a shabby quarter of Venice. It has for two centuries and a half presented the aspect of a peculiarly cold and rather mean, though somewhat spacious, Palladian church; but I know not whether any design or any record exists to tell us what "S. Pietro Patriarcale" was previous to 1610. I often draw on my imagination to conceive that it may have been another Torcello. Any how the inferiority of the actual church, compared both with the cathedrals of other great cities and with S. Mark's, the symbol of the Venetian State, seems significative of the political circumstances under which it was built. The Venetian Republic was willing enough to honour God in the historic shrine of its mixed religious and political greatness, the resting-place of S. Mark and chapel of its Doge; but the patriarch's cathedral was simply an object of mistrust or even jealousy. It is significative that the pediment of S. Pietro records that it was rebuilt with the aid of the munificence of Pope Urban VIII., not of the Doge and Commonwealth of Venice. The only relic of its predecessor which the present church contains is the ancient cathedra, an Eastern and Mahomedan chair of stone covered with Arabic inscriptions, now stuck up as a sight in the south nave aisle.

material, six on each side, for the twelve suffragans of that august see. At that time, when the archiepiscopal throne had been shifted into Gian Galeazzo's superb new church, these cathedræ were removed, to make way for some rather commonplace stalls of wood. The correlative meaning of the seats at Torcello and at S. Ambrogio is at once evident. One church was the cathedral of a bishop, the other that of a metropolitan. One of these prelates had to hold diocesan synods, and the other, provincial councils—one required a chapter-house, and the other a council hall; in either case the bema was the place of meeting of the collected ecclesiastics, while in one church the Apocalyptic vision was prefigured by a bishop and his presbyters and deacons, and in the other by a metropolitan and his suffragans. In neither instance did the presence of this venerable assembly have a direct relation to the vocal worship of the general congregation, while it did bear one to that gathering together of the *plebs Domini* at the great sacramental rite, which was the main idea of the primitive churchgoing.

The altar, as we have seen, stood forward on or beyond the chord of the apsidal semicircle. The other furniture necessary for the performance of worship—the ambo or ambones (pulpits) for the lections of Holy Scriptures and the sermons, and the enclosure (*chorus cantorum*), surrounded with a low wall, for the singers—stood still more forward into the church. The *chorus cantorum*, in connection with the ambones, are represented in the form at all events which they had as-

sumed in the ninth century, in the plan of S. Clemente. In the plan of S. Gall, to which I shall have occasion more particularly to refer hereafter, we find these arrangements in a condition of abnormal transition, from which some curious inferences may be drawn. The rest of the congregation of course gathered in the nave; but in their disposition distinctions of ranks and sex were observed. The magistrates had their place of honour; men and women occupied different sides; the excommunicate, the unbaptized, the possessed, were partly in and partly out of church, in the narthex or semiexternal vestibule; while the outer world was fenced off by the interposed atrium or vestibular cloister, of which S. Clemente and S. Ambrogio still retain unaltered examples. In a word, every person who presented himself in a basilica, from the throned bishop to the catechumen just emerging from heathendom and the penitent atoning for his sins, *se posait* ceremoniously in his own particular place with reference to the place of every one else, in that showing forth of the Lord's death which Christians were commanded to do till He should come.

Such was the basilica, conveying an idea perhaps more complete and grand than the grandest cathedral of more modern centuries, and *à fortiori* far more complete and grand than the ordinary village-church. But yet there is an aspect in which the humblest village-church on the remotest mountain of Wales is more complete and more grand than the most vast basilica taken by itself. The village-church is a building destined for common worship and for the

administration of the sacraments. The basilica was wholly destined for one of these great actions—the Sacrament of the Eucharist. For baptism, another building, differently constructed, stood in close proximity to, but yet distinct from, the basilica. The basilica by itself was but the moiety of a modern church—basilica and baptistery together forming the entire whole. I should stray too far away from my own subject if I were to analyse the architectural peculiarities of the ancient baptisteries. It is enough to say that their normal shape was circular or polygonal, the font intended for immersion standing in the centre. The solemn baptisms, it is well known, ordinarily took place at Easter or Whitsuntide, in the presence of the assembled “*Civitas Dei*.” Of course, an immediate reason for this peculiar plan is to be found in its obvious convenience for baptisms under the double condition of publicity and immersion. But I believe that while the archetype of the basilica is found in the pagan and secular basilica, that of the baptistery may reversely be traced up to a Christian source, which, if it did not in the first instance give the idea, at all events exercised a potent influence in its preservation and propagation. The early Christian realized, with an intensity of faith which we may well long after, that baptism was a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness. When the catechumen went down into the font he was laid in the tomb; when the newly baptized Christian came out of it he was rising again from the dead. Plainly, then, and simply, the font was theologically the ante-

type of the Lord's sepulchre. As, then, the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem stood in the midst of the circular church raised by Helena, so the baptisteries of the enfranchised Catholic Church reproduced the form and the arrangements of the hallowed shrine on Calvary. To quote one, and that the earliest instance, the circular church of Sta. Costanza at Rome is either a baptistery built in Constantine's own days, and adorned by architects educated in Pagan ideas, or else it is a temple of Bacchus converted to Christian uses. On the former hypothesis, it is a self-evident case; on the latter, it proves my point indirectly, indicating, as it does, that its form gave the hint for its special adaptation, while on either alternative it is also the burial-place of that prince's daughter Constantia, who gave to it her name. Even in the retention of the baptistery, the conservatism of Torcello does not desert us, for there it is to be found, at the west end, of small dimensions and mean design, but still preserving the normal type. In Italy, at all events, the occasional use of the detached baptistery continued for several generations after men had ceased to build basilicæ. I need only refer to the magnificent example of the twelfth century at Pisa. Altars were soon placed in the baptisteries, and thus a divergent plan of church took frequent root.

I have thus very briefly, and still more insufficiently, endeavoured to sketch the idea embodied in the basilica of the early Christian Church. If my theory be in any sense correct, the marvel would not be that the basilican form fell into disuse, but

that it lasted so long and went on so deep into the middle ages. Torcello, for example, in the eleventh century, was as different as possible from Pergamos, or Rome, or Bethlehem in the fourth century; and yet, as we have seen, it is in Torcello that we have hitherto been looking for the fitting counterfeits of the way in which the Christians, just recovering from the agonies of the Diocletian persecution, rejoiced to worship. But when we recollect that until the day that Bonaparte upset the Venetian Republic the deserted island of Torcello retained the nominal rank of a sovereign republic and a bishop's see, sold titles of nobility for small gratuities, and enthroned its prelate in the scenic apse, we shall be less surprised at the antiquarian retention of primitive types down to so late a period. In truth, the seeds of the gradual revolution which was to upset the early type of worship were fructifying from the very day on which it seemed to have received its seal of permanence. The hand, that passed over the basilicæ of Rome to the bishop and his presbyters, was the one that inaugurated the policy under which they were gradually but surely to be sapped. As we have seen, the basilica was the embodied "Civitas Dei." But the embodied "Civitas Dei" could not exist in its ideal and its organic purity when Cæsar's seat had to be provided together with the bishop's throne in the Christian temple. From the days of Constantine began a dispensation—providential, I doubt not, and full of blessings to past and future days, outnumbering the countless difficulties to which it has given and will

give rise in every land—but yet wholly foreign to the entire turn of thought of that early Church which grew so vigorously from the fertilizing streams of martyrs' blood. I mean the dispensation of mutual relations of Church and State. Constantine himself felt the incongruity, and tried to untie the knot by removing his throne to a new Rome, while content to leave the Christian Church at old Rome in the condition of a body rich and powerful indeed, but still no more than tolerated beside the still dominant paganism of the Capitol and Mount Palatine. So at Rome the basilica still flourished; and when the Western Empire fell, and the Bishop of Rome grew stronger and stronger in his own city in spite of Gothic kings and struggling exarchs, the type of the *Civitas Dei* might still legitimately seem to dominate its social system. In 790 Adrian I., as we see, rebuilt S. Clemente. In ten years from that date modern society received its consecration by that act in which pedants saw the restoration of the long-defunct empire of Augustus—the coronation by Pope Leo of Charles the Frank in the basilica of St. Peter's, and in which wiser men might recognise the formal inauguration of the modern world. But at Constantinople, from the beginning, as if by instinctive feeling, the architects chose a type for their places of worship, in which the worship performed, and not the order of the worshippers, was the first thing to be considered. It could not be otherwise; for the *Civitas Dei* marshalled beside the proud autocrat would have been an intolerable anachronism. Into the typical cathedral of the East, which with

slight modifications still exists in vigorous reality all over the constantly-increasing empire of Russia, my space forbids me to enter. It is enough to have pointed out how very early a system antagonistic to the basilica began to prevail in the still undivided Christian Church.

But even in Rome there were the seeds of antagonism deep sown in the soil. My readers will not fail to have noticed in the plan of the Church of Bethlehem the dotted lines indicative of the cavern of the Nativity. At Jerusalem the Holy Sepulchre was the central point in its own church. There were at Rome no such spots of transcendent interest to fix the localities of the new churches. But in the catacombs the parents and the elders of the existing generation had been, in the bloody days of persecution, secretly accustomed to meet for worship at the martyrs' tombs; in the night the little knots of the faithful had gathered together in these hallowed retreats, when the idea of the *Civitas Dei* assembling in the broad light of day in spacious halls of worship would have seemed a fond impossible dream. Accordingly the feeling so created found an almost immediate vent, and the grandest of the primitive basilicæ rose over the "confessio" of St. Peter in triple sanctity as at once the tomb, the shrine, and the church of the great apostle, while not many years later a similar fane was raised to the honour of St. Paul outside the Ostian Gate. With the admission of this new feeling, a line of thought was created which carried with itself the sure destruction of the basilican system. The shrine was of course the

central object of sacred interest and of popular affection, more so than the altar or the human representative of Christ on His eternal throne. At once the personal feeling was created, and every worshipper was led to church to deal for his own soul's health with the varying sacred accidents of every sanctuary. The congregation was a collection of units, clients of St. Peter or St. Paul as the case might be, but no longer the *Civitas Dei*—incorporated citizens convoked as a whole by order and degree into that city's public hall to do the conjoint act of worship which was the pledge of brotherhood at once with God and with each other. From this first step, the successive stages of the cultus of relics, their distribution and redistribution, and the correlative multiplication of subsidiary altars, of crypts and dependent chapels, followed in logical sequence. I have already called attention to the form which this system had attained in the full-blown mediæval cathedral, the Papal cathedral as I venture to term it,—not exclusively, for there is a form of church still more Papal even than that, but as contrasted with the English cathedral of our own day. I have now contrasted it with that building out of which it was evoked, namely, the early basilica of primitive Christendom. In a word, a basilica sheltering a bevy of minor altars is an anachronism doctrinal, ritual, and architectural.

But there was another main cause at work to hasten the transformation, to which I shall hurry, omitting the minor irregularities of pagan temples turned into churches, and such anomalous polygons as Justinian's

S. Vitale at Ravenna, prompted probably by the introduction of altars into baptisteries. The Civitas Dei was, speaking generally, a secret society within a highly civilized community. Christianity was mainly the religion of the towns, as heathenism was of the *pagani*, while public worship was conducted in the vernacular tongue of every province. There was no hour or occasion of worship, whether the more sacred one of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or those less solemn services composed of psalms, and lessons, and short prayers, which seem to have existed in the Christian Church from the earliest days,* at which the congregation was not expected to assist. Then came the crash of civilization in the West, and the patronage of Christianity by the pseudo-Roman Emperor of the East, both in their respective ways detrimental to the primitive consistency of the Civitas Dei. Some strong abnormal effort was needed to stay the tide of barbarian heathendom, and to save the Gospel and those arts and literature which Christianity had so very lately been empowered to call its own. The subtle East lent an idea which the West lost no time in developing through the power of its vigorous practical mind. Generation after generation the deserts of the Thebaïd had been peopled by troops of sturdy and gaunt but God-fearing ascetics, who sought an asylum in those solitudes from the vices of Alexandrian luxury. Benedict of Nursia, in the fifth century,

* Vide on this point the first volume of the Rev. P. Freeman's 'Principles of Divine Service' (J. H. Parker, 1855), and a review of it which I wrote in the 'Christian Remembrancer' for October, 1855.

raised up the standard of monasticism in distracted Italy. But his system was not that of mere retirement and self-punishment. The Benedictine idea was to secure God by doing good to man, as well as by the performance of direct acts of worship. It was accordingly the ambition of that truly great man to create a series of corporations which should, one by one, do that work of mercy in the world which the shattered *Civitas Dei* seemed unable to accomplish in its collective form. The monasteries were missionary stations among the heathen, and agricultural colonies everywhere. I do not entangle myself with the precise right or wrong involved in this detail or that of the Benedictine system, with the celibacy, the rule, the silence, the length and times of services. These are all controversial questions which have nothing to do with the English Cathedral of the nineteenth century. It is sufficient to say that Benedict and his successors, at a crisis of growing darkness and overwhelming confusion, strove, with the fear of God before their eyes, to create an institution which for future generations was to preserve the knowledge and worship of the Almighty, and the arts and literature of civilized existence.

The immediate bearing of the creation of the Benedictine monastic life on the forms of churchbuilding is my present point. The monks took up Divine service as they found it in Italy, namely, said in Latin, which was still more or less the vernacular of that peninsula. But they did not only take it up: they also took with them wherever they went as missionaries, to Frank,

or Saxon, or Englishman, the language with the worship of their own native Italy; and so the harsh-tongued denizens of the northern forests were first made acquainted with the praises of the universal Lord, as sung by the Hebrew prophet-king, in the soft but unintelligible utterances of a Mediterranean people. This was of course very short-sighted on the part of the early Benedictines; and their short-sight has let in a flood of unextinguishable woes to the Christian fold of every age. Let the man who is self-convinced of never having chosen, consciously or unconsciously, the short, when he might have taken the long, policy, cast the first stone at those good misjudging monks. Rome, upon its inflexible principle of finding a reason and providing a system for every turn of time and tide, has long been ready with *à priori* arguments to show that Latin is the sacred language of the West; but the fact stands patent in all history, that the lapse from vernacular to dead-tongue services was gradual and imperceptible. As the people's services at the basilica, in the language of their nursery and their domestic hearth, became the monks' services in the monastic church, in the language of the Vulgate and the cloister, and of the men who lived very far away and very long ago; so the arrangement of parts, the inward organization of the services themselves, underwent a perceptible change.

As I have already said—and as I dare claim should be proved in the negative by those who deny the fact—psalms, portions of Scripture, and ejaculations, fixed and not extemporaneous, rose up from the

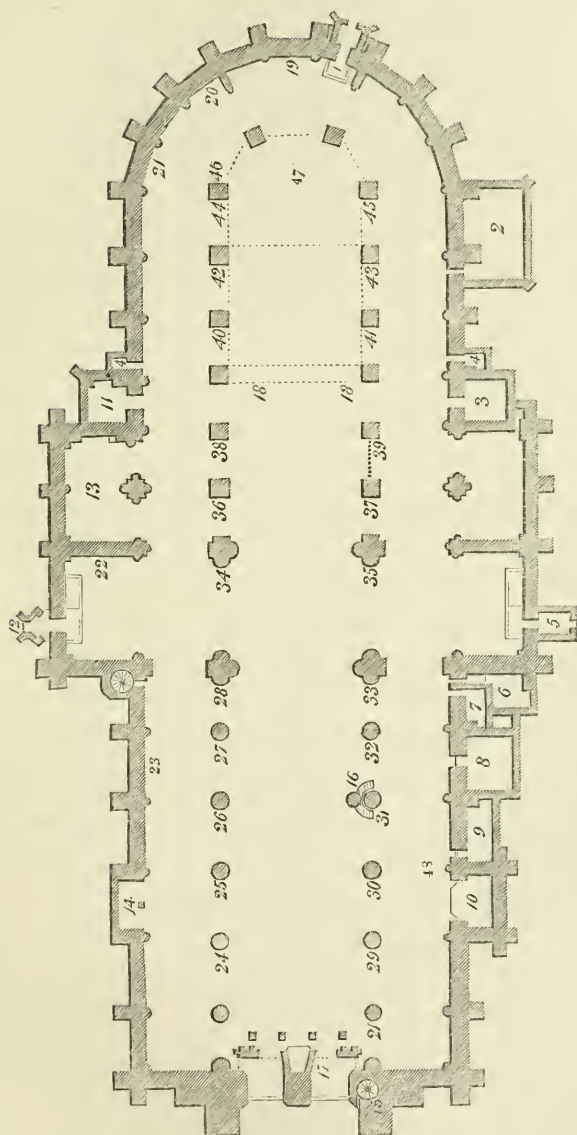
Christian assembly, in its earliest and purest ages, to the Holy of Holies. But this set form was, in its normal dimensions, measured out to suit the general convenience. As society and monkship drew more apart from each other, as large churches rose more frequently on the moor and in the dingle, and less often in the forum and the street, as the congregations of men of solitude* worshipped with each other and for each other alone, in a dialect of which they alone possessed the key, so naturally their set forms of devotion assumed a new aspect, corresponding with the new condition of things. The services became more lengthy in their recitation, and more artificial in their contexture. It took centuries before that series of collective Latin services based on the Psalter, and used at frequent hours of the night and day, called the Breviary, assumed its complete mediæval form. But it was in process of preparation from the day that Benedict first retreated to Subiaco to avoid the ruin of the Res Romana.

In the basilica, as we saw, the bishop and clergy up in the bema, and the singers down in the chorus cantorum (if the chorus cantorum were not altogether of the nature of an afterthought), performed the service. In the monastic church the strictness and the similarity of the vows which every "claustral" monk took, whether in holy orders or not, had tended to bridge over the social distinction between the priest and the singing clerk, for they were both of them "religious."

* Monachus, *i.e.* μόναχος, from μόνος, "alone."

The multiplication of female monasteries helped this change, for every nun was of course also a "religious" in her profession, though her sex made any ordination impossible. Nunnery churches were built of cathedral size, and stalls had to be provided for the nuns, who recited the breviary services in the same order as the monks in their monasteries. The long services were of import to the brethren or to the sisters exclusively, and the presence of any layman at them, except of some casual exception, more learned or more devout than his compeers, would have been almost scouted as an intrusion. The mass, similarly said in a foreign tongue, became in its most gorgeous, and withal most lengthy elaborations, also a peculium of the fraternity. Altars had, as we have seen, been multiplied; and to the minor altars, and the shorter masses said at them, it was that the uninstructed laity were expected to gather whenever it might happen that they chose to worship at the monastic and not the parish church. Here again had grown up a broad distinction. In true basilican times the cathedral was the rule, the adjunct chapels were the exceptions. In a town like Rome the various basilicæ were reduplicated cathedrals rather than large parish churches; for the "civitas" idea rejected over-minute subdivision. But as the *Civitas Dei* broke up, and as the "pagani" became "Christiani," and as the new large churches were raised for the use of the monastic corporations, in that proportion did the notion of a "parochia" and of a parish church, without an immediate and direct dependence upon a bishop,

take root. Into the mediæval corruption incident on this changed system—that of large monasteries, even of nuns, exercising ordinary jurisdiction over regions either carved out of dioceses or existing in countries in which territorial episcopacy only existed in name—it is not my province to enter. Antiquarians are well aware that Scotch Presbyterians have founded an argument in favour of their system upon a passage in Venerable Bede, which, if rightly understood, does no more than describe, in the language natural to his age, the early prevalence of an analogous anomaly in the savage Hebrides. In a much later age vast tracts of the Netherlands continued under this anomalous regimen, with at most a nominal dependence on the Bishop of Utrecht, until in the latter half of the sixteenth century a regular territorial episcopate was introduced under the Archbishops of Utrecht and Mechlin, the latter see being constituted in a church which had been up to that date merely collegiate. Yet Mechlin Cathedral would never betray to the visitor ignorant of its history that it had not been built (in the days transitional between Second and Third Pointed) for its present dignity, while its spaciousness recommends it as one of the churches which the architect of new cathedrals might most profitably study in search of his ideal. As an instance of one of these churches not so well known in England as it ought to be, I reproduce, from the ‘*Ecclesiologist*,’ the plan of the early Flamboyant collegiate church of S. Bavo at Haarlem, converted, past the middle of the sixteenth century, into a cathedral,



45.

Plan of Haarlem Cathedral.

a rank which it only held for a few years till the Dutch Reformation. The numerous figures show to how vicious an extent the multiplication of altars had prevailed in the debased fifteenth century. The east door is modern, while the square piers are only the bases of circular columns. (No. 45.)

The typical "abbey" (*not* "cathedral") church of the early middle ages north of the Alps, constructed on the Benedictine idea, very evidently shows its architectural derivation from the basilican model, and as evidently indicates the revolution of ideas which has led to its manifest deviations from its original type. Both buildings, as a rule, are oblong, and both have commonly aisles, and not unfrequently those transepts which the primitive Christian churches borrowed from the judicial basilica, while they preserved them, with a sanctified ingenuity, in order that the whole building might in its ground-plan show forth that Cross whose eternal significance had not yet been revealed when the earliest justice-hall had been allotted to the prætor under the Roman Republic. Both in the basilica and in the abbey-church the apse is found, but in the latter the semicircular bench, the tribune properly so called, is wanting, and in the centre of the space thus set free the shrine of the patron saint is frequently found. Westward of that, but invisible to the congregation in the nave, stands the high altar; and westward again of the high altar, in double or triple ranges, are placed the stalls of the monks, the after-growth of the *chorus cantorum*, but enlarged in their area to meet the enlarged import-

ance of monastic psalmody—of those breviary services, that is, which had become the badge and the corporate office of the clerkly corporation. S. Clemente exhibits the chorus cantorum as an enclosure rising out of the middle of the nave, and defined along the sides no less than at the nave end by a dwarf wall. Torcello presents us with one which is only bounded on each side by the pillars themselves that divided the nave from its aisles. The latter treatment (superior as it is on the score of architectural merit) became the normal principle of the abbey-church, and so the choir was recognised as a constructional element of the building. Of course, under the new order of things, the choir in the larger churches acquired a considerable prolongation, and so it became a puzzling problem to the architects to connect it in its double character of a ritual and an architectural feature with the transepts. Sometimes the stalls stood altogether westward of the transepts, and the altar was placed in the lantern; sometimes (more commonly in later—*i.e.* Gothic—days) they stood eastward of the crossing; sometimes they stretched rather clumsily across it in longitudinal lines, filling up the north and south arches. Very rarely on the Continent, though more frequently in England, there were two pairs of transepts, of which the most noticeable example abroad was found at the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, in a church, the pride of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which was, until the French Revolution began, and the Restoration completed, its destruction, by general consent the largest, grandest, most complete of abbey-churches. These stalls were

returned at the west end, so as to cross the building latitudinally, and were enclosed towards the nave by a solid screen, surmounted by a gallery, and called the "jube"*—a feature which, together with the high side screens, was, according to the erudite and sarcastic Father Thiers, reduced to its subsequent form in the eleventh or twelfth century to keep the monks warm at their long night-services, the jube having then been substituted for the primitive ambo. As in the basilica, the throne of the bishop, the living type of the Lord, stood in the apse, so in the abbey-church, or "minster" (*i.e.* monastery church), the stall of the abbot, the administrative head of the corporation, was fixed with its back to the western screen, furthest from the altar, but commanding the entire collection of monks with one glance of the eye. Half-way between the basilica and the developed mediæval abbey of the middle ages comes the monastic church of Charles the Great's days, built north of the Alps; the abbey of S. Gall, which was only a few years later than S. Clemente and nearly two centuries earlier than Torecello. True it is that we only possess a parchment plan; but this design may well be assumed as typical of its class and age. The first peculiarity which is observable in it is that it is the earliest instance in evidence of the double apse—one at each end—and independent choirs in connection with both. This strange feature of the early minster seems to have been a growth of Teuton

* The deacon "bade" the blessing from it, addressing the priest with "*Jube* donne benedicere"—thence its name. Compare the "bidding" prayer at the Universities and Cathedrals.

soil. It is at this moment in architectural existence (actual ritual arrangements apart) in churches as well known as the Cathedrals of Mentz and Worms, and the Abbey of Laach. Professor Willis, however, considers that he has proved the presence of this usage in the still earlier Saxon Cathedral of Canterbury. The second feature requiring notice is that the multiplication of altars had been so thoroughly accepted that at least fifteen, perhaps more, are found clearly indicated on the plan: and the third is that under the eastern apse (the one at the top of the plan) a crypt is found. The fourth peculiarity consists in the distribution of the monks' stalls, which in the western apse seem arranged on the plan of S. Clemente, while in the eastern, if I read the indications aright, they assume the inartificial shape of transverse, not longitudinal, benches. The fifth point deserving notice is that a font is represented in the middle of the church, not relegated to a distinct baptistery. Of course, in a monks' church proper a font is not needed, and its occurrence at S. Gall indicates without doubt the missionary uses of the building on the confines of those Alpine ranges which were a last stronghold of pagan barbarism. Eastward of the great church another small one, with double apses, is visible.

We have now face to face, in the centuries between the rise of the abbey-church and the discovery of the pointed arch, the decaying basilica and the rising minster. The former still kept possession of the south of the Alps, on lands long Christianised and

civilized, as if to claim its right to be recognised as the rightful model of the bishop's church. The minster kept multiplying its offshoots in every direction through England, France, Germany, and the adjacent regions. The compromise between the two principles—the compromise, that is, within the limits of mediæval ideas—had to be struck out in the mediæval cathedral: a building which received its full completion contemporaneously with the perfection of Gothic architecture.* Some cathedrals were Benedictine abbeys with a bishop superadded—Durham, Canterbury, and Ely, for example—and in these the monastic character still predominated, only that the chief of the monks was called prior, and not abbot. Others were churches served by canons, that is by bodies of ecclesiastics bound by a less stringent system than monks—the successors, in fact, of the primitive colleges of presbyters—and governed by a rule founded on that which the great St. Augustine drew up for the regulation of those clergy who served his basilica at Hippo. These cathedrals pure and simple, as well as the collegiate churches served by independent corporations of canons, were doubtless built upon the basilican plan down to a later date than the abbeys;

* This question is worked out with great learning and ability, with a special reference to French examples, in M. Viollet le Duc's '*Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle.*' He ingeniously connects the change from the more exclusive abbey-churches to the more open cathedrals with the growth of municipal freedom in the large towns, while perhaps he does not sufficiently attend to the point of view which I have taken, viz. that the cathedral is as much the basilica minsterised as it is the minster popularised.

but they had in their turn to abandon it—north, at least, of the Alps—and to borrow their ground-plan from the Benedictines. The shrine of the patron saint and the high altar had the same import in either church, and the stalls of the canons counterfeited those of the monks. The side enclosures and the jube were also common to both buildings, and they were frequently solid in the cathedrals, but frequently—especially in the large collegiate and cathedral churches of Flanders of the fifteenth century—they were open to sight and sound from the nave. The multiplication of altars was also a ruled point, and the chapels encircling the apse were imitated from the minster. One thing had to be provided which the latter building did not possess—the seat for the bishop himself. The site of the abbot's or prior's stall had ruled the spot for the immediate head of the college of canons—the dean or provost, as he was usually designated, whether or not his church was also a bishop's see,—whether, that is, it was a cathedral or a collegiate church. In minster and in collegiate church, the head of the corporation took the stall nearest to the right hand of the stranger entering the choir. Accordingly, where the stalls were “returned,” this seat was backed by the screen and faced the east; where they were not returned (as in Henry VII.'s chapel), it was the most westernly on the south side. The developement of the primitive type of church had evolved that strong distinction which exists to this day in every parish church of England between the spot where the ordinary services are said and

the immediate precinct of the altar, in which the special assistants at the Sacrament are collected. Generally, the mediæval bishop, with commendable tact, dared not arrogate to himself the tremendous character which his more unworldly predecessor of early days assumed when he sat in the apse beneath the sitting Saviour in the mosaic vault above. All that he claimed was precedence at the daily offices and at the pontifical mass. The former was secured by assigning to him a throne like a larger choir-stall at the extremity of the range, on one side, generally the south; while the latter demanded another seat in close juxtaposition to the altar and ordinarily on the north. Such was the typical cathedral of the middle ages in Cismontane Europe. We find it at Old Sarum and at Alby, in spite of the aisles being there suppressed, while the church of New Sarum does no more than reproduce its features. This method of providing for the bishop was common to the cathedrals and to the cathedralised abbey churches. At Ely alone, of all cathedrals in Christendom, owing to its first bishop having been an abbot who was himself the banished bishop of another see, the diocesan has continued to occupy the abbot's stall, while the head of the corporation (before the Reformation a prior, and since then a dean) has occupied the opposite stall, usually assigned to a sub-prior or sub-dean.

Exceptions of course existed. At Canterbury the "patriarchal chair" of marble is still preserved, which stood for generations above the altar, and which had been popularly assigned to Saxon days until that

erudite antiquarian, the late Père Martin, declared it to be the work of the twelfth century. Professor Willis discovered the bishop's seat in the Romanesque apse of Norwich, while the old stone throne still terminates the cathedral of Lyons. South of the Alps, in that Italy where we have to go for almost all the existing basilicæ, the system of placing the stalls in the apse, and behind the altar, was never laid aside; but has gone down to our own days as a system perfectly alternative with that of the longitudinal arrangement common in the north, but far from unknown in Italy itself, existing as it does in such churches as the Certosa of Pavia, Sta. Maria Gloriosa at Venice, S. Antonio at Padua, and the Duomo of Florence. The proto-Franciscan church at Assisi in the Umbrian mountains, which is at once the starting-point of popularised monasticism, and the typical specimen of Italian Gothic of the thirteenth century (the earliest Gothic church of all Italy in fact, except one in subalpine Vercelli), exhibits the basilican treatment of stalls. Como Cathedral, of which the apse is early Renaissance, is also an instance some three hundred years later. The examples that exist at Milan, beginning with the Cathedral itself, I do not reckon; for the peculiarities of the Ambrosian ritual—a ritual which, where strictly adhered to, proscribes more than one altar in the church—fully account for a lingering basilican feeling. Indeed in very many Italian monastic churches of later date—notably *munneries* churches—basilicanism has as it were been caricatured by the erection of a solid partition across

the entire building, against which, on the nave side stands the high altar, while, on the farther side—in what is absolutely another apartment—the stalls are fixed, ranging round the east end, which east end, by the way, is as frequently rectangular as apsidal. In this false reproduction of basilican forms I cannot trace the least preservation of genuine basilican feeling. The *Civitas Dei* never assembles conjointly in those churches: the occupants of the stalls are the monks, the canons, the friars, or the nuns, who drop into them as they like to run over their breviary offices, or to assist at mass, without the least reference to the congregation in the nave. Indeed, one is tempted to treat this Italian peculiarity as a corroborative proof of Father Thiers's thermometrical theory, and to argue that the casual nonenclosure of the choir in that land was due to its temperature, it being understood that, when the clergy wished to shut themselves off, they might avail themselves of absolute partitioning, an expedient to which the nuns had recourse from very obvious reasons.*

The man who would venture to find in these dry bones of traditionary arrangement any real inheritance of basilicanism must be exceedingly sanguine. I am as little able to discover any distinctive principle in the dilettante adoption of the apsidal distribution

* I venture to refer those who desire further to follow out the theory of church arrangement with special reference to some of the doctrinal aggressions of the Church of Rome, to an article of mine in the 'Christian Remembrancer' for January, 1851, entitled, 'Oratorianism and Ecclesiology.'

of stalls which has been adopted in some modern Roman Catholic churches and recent restorations in France or Italy. Whether M. Viollet le Duc, in his late works at S. Denis, retains the apsidal stalls which were put up in Louis Philippe's reign I cannot say. The basilica of St. Boniface at Munich is only one out of various types of church erected by the artistic taste of King Ludwig in that artistic city. But for an example of the unreality of pseudo-basilicanism I should unhesitatingly point to the restoration of the huge Romanesque Cathedral of Spire, commenced by the same monarch and completed by the reigning king. Lavish funds have been expended in covering the walls and the cupolas of this vast building with a complete iconographic epopee from the pencil of Schraudolph. But when we turn from the art to the architecture, and still more to the ritual arrangements, of the church, we find a sad decadence. With reference to my immediate point—the lengthened nave is properly filled with benches, and the high altar is in full face; but the bishop's throne is far away at the extreme end of the apse, out of sight and out of sound, flanked right and left by the stalls, of most mediocre design, while the organ is some four hundred feet distant, hoisted up into a western gallery, with music-desks for the vocalists. A more perfect misappreciation of the genius loci than this arrangement I never beheld, nor one which more fully indicates the difference between the spirit and the letter of basilicanism.

We are now in a condition to grapple with the

question plainly put—why should the constructor of a new English cathedral have recourse to a forced adoption of basilican arrangement, rather than persevere in the plan into which the cathedral movement of late years, both in building and in restoration, has naturally drifted—the popularizing and modernizing of our own old English type? The advantages of the latter method of proceeding are practical and obvious. They are in fact the natural and logical sequel of the spirit of the English Reformation. When our fathers threw off the yoke which had hung so heavily round their necks, what did they do? Did they invent a new system out of their own heads to suit the present need, according to their own conceptions? Directly the reverse. Bishops had ruled the Church from the first, and bishops were to rule it still, though no longer “by the grace of the Holy See.” These bishops had their cathedrals, and the cathedrals were continued and even increased in number, though to nothing like the extent which was at first promised. Henry VIII.’s ‘Scheme of Bishopricks’ (published by Mr. Cole out of the original in the Record Office in 1838) proposes sixteen new sees for England, so much less populous then than it is now. Six only of these, soon reduced to five, were created; the rest followed the way of good intentions. Some of the old cathedrals had been served by chapters of canons, others by monks—all were hereafter to be capitular. The Holy Sacrament had been celebrated in a dead language—henceforward the vernacular was to be

employed. Private masses had grown up—the Holy Communion was henceforward to be congregational. The collective services of the ecclesiastics had of course been said in Latin, and, from their inordinate length and complexity, were wholly unsuited, even if translated and purged of their errors, for popular use. But the Reformers analyzed their nature: they observed, first, that they ranged themselves as it were into two groups, a morning and an evening one; and secondly, that the main staple of their better part was the successive recitation of the Psalter, the reading of certain portions of Holy Scripture, the use of the creeds and certain canticles either Scriptural or handed down from venerable antiquity, and the varying employment of collects and of prayers even shorter and more ejaculatory. They found that on other occasions devotion became even more rapidly alternative, and more propitiatory, in the use of litanies. Again, they recognised the fact that Christians in every age had their peculiar year of worship, distinct from the natural or the political one, in which the history of revelation was, so to speak, represented as the different events of the divine Incarnation come into view successively. With these facts before them, and with the old materials in their hands to rearrange, they produced that wonderful work of man's wisdom and piety 'The Book of Common Prayer, and of the Administration of the Sacraments,' by their possession of which the English-speaking races are privileged beyond all other people to worship Almighty God, day by day if they like, in words that unite

heaven with earth, the past with the present, the voices of inspiration with the holiest offspring of man's wit.

The system which, as I have shown in an earlier chapter, has been pursued by the builders no less than the restorers of cathedrals, now that the Church of England has again happily become a cathedral-building as well as a cathedral-restoring community, is precisely parallel to that which our Reformers adopted in dealing with the services which were to be performed in those cathedrals—the retention of essential and defensible principles with the rejection of parasitical and indefensible accretions. The English cathedral of the middle ages grew up with the English church and the English people, a confused mixture of right and wrong, resting upon a strong national basis. In winnowing the right from the wrong, the utmost care was taken not to throw away, but, on the contrary, to strengthen and bring into prominence, the national element. The reformed Church of England was, in its externals, the reformation of the English Church, and not the restoration of the primitive Church of Italy or Greece. Herein a wise philosophy was shown: for however the world may mend or worsen; however one age may move parallel to or concentrically with another; however much any age maintains its continuity with the one before it; no age ever replaces itself exactly upon the lines of any other one, and least of all when that other age is far distant in time, distance, and climatic influences.

Nothing less than such a violent attempt to re-

create a past state of society would, as I trust that I have made clear, be involved in the revival of basilican usages in England. I am well aware that a most sumptuous attempt has been made to familiarise the inhabitants of a country town, almost under the shadow of Salisbury steeple, with the architecture and the external forms of a basilica in the gorgeous church of Wilton, due to Lord Herbert. But as Wilton Church—the production of a powerful and ingenious idiosyncrasy—has not yet found any imitator, I may venture to assume *carte blanche* in arguing the impossibility of basilican revival, merely reminding my readers that I have already disentangled the question of basilican arrangement from that of basilican architecture, and expressed my conviction that there is no artistic feature in Gothic which would render it inapplicable for the revival. As a fact, the baldachino of the high altar was in several of the Roman basilicæ rebuilt during the middle ages in Gothic.

If, however, the Church of England could revive among all its children a tone of mind which would enable them to accept, without cavil, or discontent, or hesitation, the spirit of basilican arrangement, then I should be the first to say let us revive it. But, if that spirit slumbers, then I equally say let us avoid a dead imitation of a long-antiquated original. The spirit of the basilica, as I have indicated, is the embodiment, in due and elaborate order, of the assembled *Civitas Dei*, under the august presidency of the Bishop and of his Presbyters, for the joint act of Christian worship. The bema and its occupants are the central point of

the church equally with the altar beneath them, and disconnectedly from the residuary officiators in the chorus cantorum, while the bema so occupied has, in the second place, a most awful symbolism attached to it. Plainly, then, are the members of the English Church at the present day prepared in thought and deed so to enthrone their prelacy? He would be a bold man, I think, who would imagine this, and a bolder man who would strive to compass it. Great honour and deference are undoubtedly due to the legitimate rulers of the Church; but there are many degrees of honour and deference which need not exactly shape themselves in the form of recalling the episcopate to the central throne of reconstructed basilicæ. But, if the basilican model be revived without the intention of reviving the *Civitas Dei*, with the king-like Bishop throning it over all, how poor and weak a counterfeit shall we produce, and how inconvenient a system shall we offer for the celebration of Divine service! We saw that in the basilica the Bishop and the Presbyters sat up in the apse, and the cantores below in the chorus cantorum, and we traced the cause of this division. But, if the cause be removed, the arrangement would be alike illogical and disappointing. Who would sit in one place, and who in the other? The canons in the apse and the minor canons in the chorus cantorum would be a most invidious distinction; while the transference of all the clergy to the apse would be the destruction of the alternative musical service. The abolition of the chorus cantorum altogether would be the source of immea-

surable confusion in the adjustment of the singing-men in an apse which must then be arranged on a Torcello-like plan. But, if all the clergy were sent down to the chorus, and only the Bishop remained in the apse, then farewell to the grand revival of the basilica. I do not enter into the minor difficulties of adjusting music-desks to the apsidal seats; but I must dwell upon what would be of serious importance—the contingent irreverence which would follow on the change. As we have seen, the basilican usage was for the celebrant of the Holy Communion to stand on the further side of the altar, with his face to the congregation. In the days when this position was habitual there could be no irreverence connected with it. But what would now be the first idea which its revival would awaken? I fear, the familiar and unseemly one of a public lecturer standing behind his baize-covered table. But, if the officiator did not assume this position, again I say the basilican revival would be a counterfeit. Besides, the Torcello apse filled with the choir would have a very unfortunate resemblance to a concert at St. James's Hall.

In order to dispose of only one category of difficulties at a time, I have concluded that the basilican revival would be confined to cathedrals. All the early basilicas were, I believe, cathedrals—that is, the seat at the apse of the church was meant for the bishop, and for nobody else, while there was always some occasion during the year that called him to it; and the presbyter, in ordinary charge of the church, would as soon have thought of occupying it in the bishop's absence

as the Lords Commissioners would think of opening Parliament from the throne. But a basilican revival in England confined to cathedrals would be an absurdity. If that system is worth anything, it would have to be followed out in parish churches. How then would their parts have to be distributed? Should the central place in the apse be rightfully reserved for the diocesan, or should the incumbent and curates be allowed to play at bishop and presbyters on ordinary Sundays? It is no answer to say that in the monastic churches of later ages which have been built on the basilican model this unreality exists, for I have shown how dead an imitation they are. Into the great risk of the change being, from its entire novelty, as unpopular as it would be perplexing, I need not enter. My readers can supply this point for themselves. In any aspect it would, I am convinced, be very inexpedient, when we possess a natural and national tradition of church arrangement, suited to and used in our cathedrals both old and new, which is every day being better understood, and therefore more popular. In this usage, as we have seen, the bishops and the cathedral clergy modestly abstain from assuming the seats of magisterial dignity, which their predecessors in the primitive ages did not fear to occupy. The bishop indeed with us has his throne, but that throne is at the side, where he sits *primus inter pares*; and the only distinction between the clergy and the choirmen and choristers is that of an upper stall. So too in the body of the church, the marked distinctions and corporate enrolment of early

discipline are wanting ; and yet the whole pile is open to the joint worship of those who choose to come, while those who are absent keep aloof on their own responsibility.

Let it be proved that this system is less real and less appropriate to our present condition of society than that of the basilica, and I shall then recall my opinion.

CHAPTER VI.

FEATURES OF THE BUILDING AND THEIR USES.

Nave — Transepts — Round Churches — Choir and its Levels — Lord's Table — Need of breadth — East end square and apsidal — Height also requisite — Triforium and Clerestory — Roofing — Three new Churches in London — One-storied Churches — Steeples — Façade.

WE have now advanced a third step in our investigation. First, the new cathedral is wanted, and can be built; secondly, it ought to be of Gothic architecture; and thirdly, in its distribution it should follow the ancient precedents of the cathedral-building age of England, modified by and in accordance with the reformed English services, rather than the less malleable forms of times and countries which were undoubtedly more pure in the faith than the middle ages, but which were still ages before Britannia had become England or the English language had grown up, and which were countries more widely differing in habits and civilization from our own than the Edwardian differed from the Victorian England. Having thus cleared our ground, we shall, for some time, have to busy ourselves with details, and to distribute the parts of the cathedral upon the principles which we have at last established.

I need not dwell upon the necessity of a nave sufficiently elongated to hold the largest congregation which the most impressive service or the most excit-

ing preaching could possibly collect. Any measurement which falls the least below a hundred feet in length—the minimum dimension—must be considered as, strictly speaking, un-cathedral. How much longer the nave might be is a practical point on which it would be loss of time to dogmatize. I move eastward, and I ask the question, Shall our cathedral be cruciform in its plan? The transept dates from immemorial antiquity. We have seen how it preceded Christianity by many generations in the open space which stretched before the bema of the judicial basilica. We have noticed how the early Christian Church, with the innocent ingenuity which was its characteristic, adopted this arrangement, and gave to it a higher and emblematical signification. We all must be aware how it identified itself with the more complex and later form of cathedral. To come at once to our own days: there is not one of the new cathedrals of which I have given the plan which is not cruciform; for although, as I have already indicated, so far as these plans would indicate, St. Ninian's, Perth, would appear to be an exception, it is really not one, as the engraving of the exterior shows. To be sure there are no lantern piers, and the arcade, with its superimposed wall, is carried on continuously so as to mask the transepts from the nave, an eccentricity which I am sure will be generally considered as the chief defect of that certainly clever building. But externally the transeptal gables and the central *flèche* denote that the typical form of the Christian Cathedral has not been overlooked. I say typical, em-

phatically not universal. Llandaff in Wales, Elgin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane* in Scotland, are specimens of cathedrals of great general beauty, and of a dignity and size considerable compared with parish churches, and yet they are destitute of transepts; while abroad still grander fanes—such as those of Bourges, Alby, Vienne in France, and in Germany Ulm, &c.—equally want that feature. Accordingly, I should be loth to insist upon it as indispensable in our English Cathedral. But still I press transepts, and the more so for the very reason which might seem to make the other way, because we can hardly expect that our Cathedral could equal the scale of the highest class of ancient cathedrals, those which measure by the 400 or the 500 feet. It is on this account that they ought not to be deprived of that compensation of dignity which may be gained by the adoption of the cruciform plan. No doubt long transepts in parish churches are hardly consistent with the spirit of the English services; but it is simple pedantry to find anything in those services abhorrent to short transepts, projecting not at all or very little beyond the line of the aisle walls, such as we see in every one of the churches of which I have produced the plan. It stands to reason that the grandeur derived from exhibiting the em-

* I take this opportunity of calling attention to the exquisite beauty of this too little known specimen of Middle Pointed architecture. The choir alone is roofed, and serves, in a very mutilated state, as the parish kirk. The nave, which is in ruins, deserves the most careful study. The west end, comprising a triplet of long, equal, narrow, two-light windows, is a composition which deserves a place in the absolute first class of Gothic architecture.

blem of our salvation in the very framework of the sacred pile, pleads for the reproduction of transepts in those churches which ought to be the pride and model of their respective dioceses. Short transepts are, as it is well known, a foreign, and particularly a French feature. But they are not unknown on this side of the water, and, even if they were so, it is bigotry to demur to their adoption. Their construction may, indeed, cost a little more money; and a few yards of superfluous ground—superfluous to utilitarian eyes—may have to be taken into the church. But the cathedral-builder who binds himself rigidly down to proving the material use of every square foot of area within his fabric will most assuredly produce a very sorry result, and perhaps make a very slight saving after all.

If the cathedral possesses transepts, their roofs ought absolutely, and without exception, to equal the nave and choir in height, unless indeed the choir overtops the nave. This parity of height is, in fact, peculiarly and essentially a cathedral feature. The contrary usage, that of transepts whose elevation is less than that of the nave, is especially a characteristic of English mediæval architecture, and is the precedent which, above all others, our architects would best honour in the breach, even when they are raising parish churches. To build a new parish church with transepts so long that the Lord's Table is invisible from a great portion of them, and yet to drop the axis of the transverse roof, is simply an indefensible exhibition of mere antiquarianism. At best such transepts look like chapels.

The chief drawback of Kilmore Cathedral is to be found in Mr. Slater's having depressed his transepts. On the contrary, those of our ancient parish churches in which the transepts equal the nave and choir in height are among the most beautiful and famous of their class, however small they may be, and destitute of aisles. For examples I need only refer to Poynings in Sussex and Shottesbrook in Berks. Of course equal transepts involve an equal or a loftier choir; but in a cathedral a depressed choir must always be an eyesore—even in such a church as Ulm.

The disposition of the central "crossing," as it is termed, the central space, namely, between the transepts, nave, and choir, demands more careful consideration. The ordinary plan of this area was that of a square space, sometimes roofed at the height of the remaining church, and sometimes growing into an open lantern bearing aloft the central steeple, whether in the form of a tower only, or of one which tapers into a spire. This central steeple is more peculiarly an English feature, though often found abroad, as for example at Lausanne, Laon, Bayeux, S. Ouen, Rouen Cathedral, Tournay, &c. On the contrary, the light *flèche*, springing from the junction of the four arms of the cross, is a foreign characteristic, and is found with peculiar size and beauty at Amiens, and conspicuously in many other foreign cathedrals, such as Haarlem. It has just been restored at Notre Dame de Paris by M. Viollet le Duc; and the prudence of M. Zwirner has dictated its adoption at Cologne in place of the central spire which the

original architect proposed to raise. There is also a flèche upon the Ste. Chapelle of Paris (a fane destitute alike of aisles and transepts), rebuilt, from documentary evidence, by the lamented Lassus. I cannot, indeed, recollect the existence of a single ancient flèche in England, although I very much suspect that one must have been in contemplation at the eclectic but mainly Gallicising church of Westminster. The present lantern there, as is well known, was the work of Wren, in preparation for a lofty hexagonal spire, which after all he feared to build. But, familiar as all are with Ely, we need not to be told that the square lantern is not the only nor yet the grandest form of the central crossing. The octagonal lantern there, though unique in England, has parallels (inferior though they be) both at Antwerp and at Milan, two churches, generally speaking, of the fifteenth century, and, by the way, possessing common features of general resemblance which I would gladly see investigated by some archæologist, who should fairly grapple with the problem, which I venture to offer, of some especial relationship between them. The early octagonal steeple of receding stages at S. Sernin of Toulouse, dating from Romanesque days, need only be alluded to. We all know how nobly the idea of an octagonal lantern has been translated into the correlative Italian circular cupola at St. Paul's, and how serviceable the area so created has proved itself to be during the late special services. Time would fail me to speak of the octagonal cupola with which, in the earliest days of Renaissance, Brunel-

leschi capped the huge Gothic Cathedral of Florence, or to prove that, of all the peculiar features of Renaissance church-building, this is the one which we may regard with the most satisfaction.

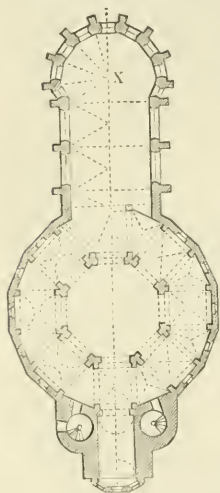
Briefly, then, I presume to claim that, in our Cathedral of the nineteenth century, the architect of true inventive genius should turn his thoughts towards perfecting a feature alike in accordance with modern English requirements, noble in itself, and apt as a vehicle for the highest pictorial art, the polygonal or circular lantern. The dome of Florence is octagonal, but there is nothing in the idea of a Gothic cupola inconsistent with the numbers of its sides being multiplied indefinitely. I go further, and I argue that there is nothing against the adoption of even a circular dome like that of St. Paul's, provided the vertical section be oval; for seen in elevation, the form of such a dome approaches more nearly—if not completely—to the elevation of a Gothic arch, than it does to any form currently used in Grecian or Roman architecture. The hemispherical or depressed cupola will, of course, be shut out from this category of developements, but I venture to anticipate that this is a loss which may very easily be supported.

Breadth—I cannot repeat this too often or too strongly—breadth is what we need in our cathedrals, and it is by breadth we can best compensate for any defect in length, and to breadth the circular or polygonal lantern most aptly lends itself. The interruption to sight and sound potentially caused by the four great piers of the crossing where there is a central tower,

is one of the objections most currently made against the cruciform plan. While simply recording this objection, I venture to assume that we must all agree that such an expansion of the lantern cuts away its very existence. There is no question that any general canon in favour of a more than quadrangular crossing would be a pedantic and intolerable servitude. But at the same time our architects would do well to consider the power which would be placed in their hands if they were permitted to deal with the treatment of the nave irrespective of the necessity for a four-sided crossing.

But I may be asked why I stop there, and talk only of a polygonal or circular crossing? why neglect that form of church which was cradled at Jerusalem round the holiest of all shrines, which found its first general expression in baptisteries, and passing into Italy gave us S. Vitale at Ravenna; then, pushing northward, created the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, and S. Gereon at Cologne, and finally gave birth to the Temple Church and to St. Sepulchre's at Cambridge? Why not build our Cathedral of this age with a wide expanded nave of a round or polygonal outline, with a broad, deep choir projecting from it? Frankly I answer, let us at all events grapple with the conception, and test it in its details. The experiment would be a grand one, and might produce results as magnificent as they are original. In following out the more ordinary ground-plan I must, therefore, be considered as not rejecting an idea which, in the hands of an architect of genius, might stamp our age with a fresh architectural success; and which has indeed,

I believe, been tried at Brussels in a new church of a mixed and somewhat peculiar style. At the same time we must not blind ourselves to the possible difficulties of the undertaking. Foremost comes the break of traditionary feeling involved in so great a change. I am anxious, bearing in mind what I have said against the basilican experiment, not to seem unmindful of this risk; but I must point out that

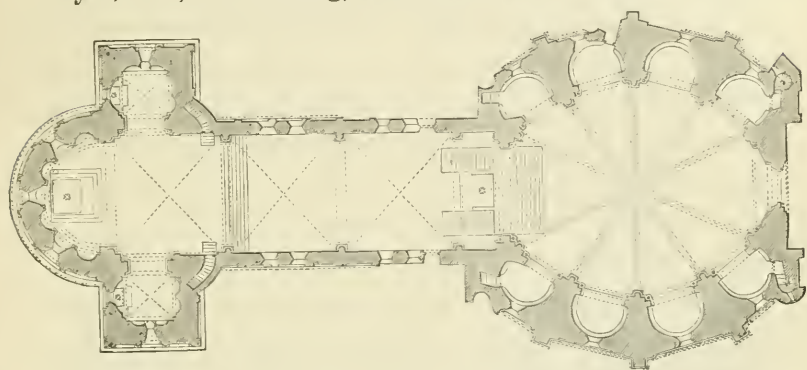


46 Plan of Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral.
100 feet to inch.

the experiment would make no difference in the distribution of the *official* portion of the building, but only in that which is reserved for the congregation itself. But, in the second place, there are practical complications which I should do wrong to overlook. Of these, one is a question of building, and another one of arrangement. The great difficulty in building a large round nave for a church of cathedral character, suitable to the modern English services, consists in its juncture with the choir.

The plans of Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral (No. 46) and of S. Gereon (No. 47) will at once explain my meaning. The former is all that a new English cathedral had better not be; while the latter church, with some modifications, might well serve as the model for such a building. Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral is, I well know, the production of two very different ages. The nave—the “Chapelle”—is a fragment of a very early Romanesque structure, first raised by Charles the Great as his

sepulchre, re-edified by Otho, miserably travestied by the *plusquam* bad taste of Maria Theresa, timidly and incompletely restored by Frederick William IV. of Prussia. The choir was constructed in the fourteenth century to replace the shorter and smaller—perhaps basilican—apse of the original fane, and has since continued, in the main, unaltered (the windows and their tracery apart), a tall, wide, and in itself impressive, college chapel, distinct from its ill-mated nave in style, size, and feeling, while the two combined make



47.

Plan of S. Gereon, Cologne. 50 feet to inch.

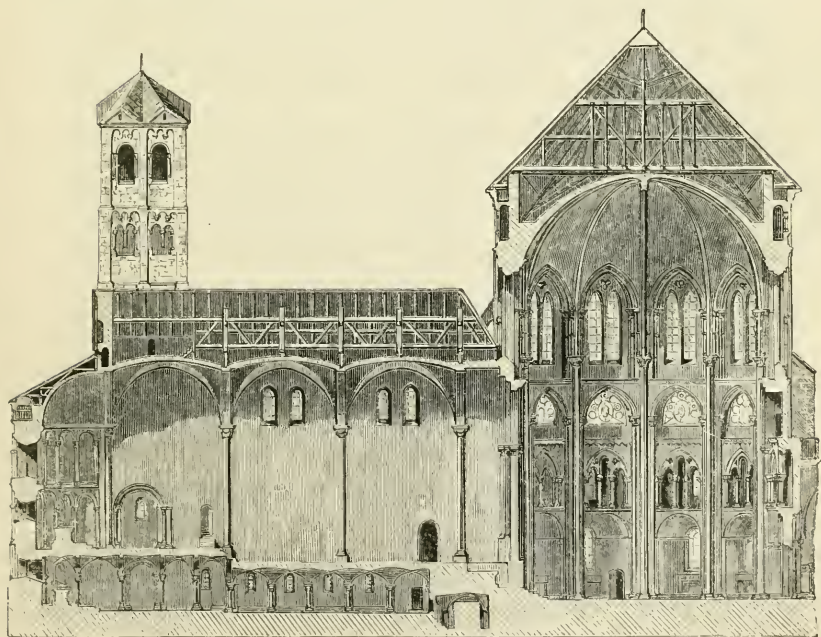
up a very picturesque scene. But for the purpose of my argument the comparative dates of the various portions of the church are immaterial where the object is to create an eclectic form for future practical use. At S. Gereon, on the other hand, the entire building is homogeneous, and built during the debatable age when round and pointed were contesting for the mastery. The plan shows that this church is in reality not circular, but an irregular oval polygon; but this incident does not affect the argument. A large west porch is omitted in the plan.

At Aix the aisle runs round the building, much as it does at St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge; while in either case the entrance into the choir is a small opening in the external wall, approached from the depressed vault of this aisle, without any well-defined arch to give either dignity to the choir from the nave or clearness of vision to the occupants of the latter. At S. Gereon there are properly speaking no aisles whatever, only chapels, into which access is given by a series of arches, collectively presenting the effect of an aisle-arcade. At the Temple Church, in London, with its aisled nave, the juncture is loftier than at Aix; still the round church and the oblong choir are perfectly distinct constructions. On the contrary, at S. Gereon the arch which leads from the nave to the choir is wide and lofty, convenient alike for sight and sound, and dignified in its own aspect. Aisles might be so managed as to produce the same result. At Aix the entire pile is on a dead-level. At S. Gereon, as the section (No. 48) indicates, the choir rises level over level; and although so much height would not be needed for our purposes, yet a considerable elevation of steps contributes alike to the appearance and to the convenience of a cathedral choir, bringing as it does the service into eyeshot of the collective congregation. I do not pause to ask why; but it is certain that the effect of a round nave, or a polygonal lantern, is to make the want of graduation more sensibly felt than where the choir succeeds to a long foreshortened perspective of lateral arches. For the proof of this I need only to appeal to the Temple Church, to Ely Cathedral, and to St. Paul's,

each of which buildings, with all its grandeur, stands confessedly deficient in the effect of well-adjusted levels. S. Gereon, on the other side, without vast proportions, borrows an artificial aspect of solemn and mysterious grandeur from this one circumstance.

The other difficulty to which I called attention is that of the arrangement of seats, wherein S. Gereon may afford useful hints, for the benches there run transversely. If, on the other hand, a circular plan should be assumed to favour a concentric distribution of chairs or benches, then I can only say that a very bad precedent would be created for our cathedral builders.

I leave the nave aisles for future consideration, and



turn for a moment to the choir, for the purpose of again reminding my readers that no stint of room should interfere with a numerous and ample provision for a large voluntary body of singers, in addition to the clergy and the lay officiators attached to the church. I need not discuss at length how the choir ought to be separated from the nave. There are two alternatives, a low and a high screen. If the division is a low one, such as that which is proposed for Chichester Cathedral, it must be solid and rich in its material; if high, it must be pervious, like the screen at Ely, which Mr. Scott has composed in wood and brass, and the one which he has designed for Lichfield is wrought iron, or that which has for the present been ingeniously planned for St. Paul's out of Wren's sumptuous gates; or else it may more magnificently be composed of marble, resembling that one which—in his drawing, exhibited in 1860, at the Royal Academy—Mr. Penrose proposes for the permanent use of St. Paul's—a drawing which represents the wishes of the authorities of that church. The material of the pulpit, whether wood, stone, or marble, is a question for the architect to settle. The position may, according to circumstances, be fixed either at one of the angles of the lantern pier, or somewhere down the nave, whether against a pillar or under one of the arches. There is ample precedent for all three arrangements. In one case the pulpit is the successor of the original ambo, in the others the convenience of preaching is alone considered. It is hardly necessary to observe that in this suggestion,

as in all that I have been saying hitherto, I have assumed, without considering it necessary to give reasons for my assumption, that the congregation must be seated in the nave. All the more recent cathedral restorations have taken this for granted, and, in so doing, afford a most pleasurable contrast to those restorations, however sumptuous and well intended (like that of Armagh), of a few years previous, in which the congregation is thrust into the choir, and the nave reduced to the ignoble office of a mere lobby. Westminster Abbey suffers most cruelly from this mistake, for on the one hand the congregation at the ordinary services are packed away into the transepts, and on the other the crowds which the special choral services in the nave bring together are perforce put off with a temporary choir far away from, and out of sight of, the Lord's Table. The substitution of an open for the close screen at St. Paul's is the first step towards converting the special service sittings into those of ordinary use. Only I trust that the one open bay which has been created between the stalls and the sanctuary may not be misappropriated to the use of a miscellaneous rush of Sunday worshippers. It will, I hope, be properly fenced by open metal grills, so as to render this abuse impossible. Into the vexed question of chairs *versus* benches I refrain from straying. I have always abstained from ranging myself absolutely on the side of the Celtic chair or the Teutonic bench. On the whole, I believe that the latter will generally be the more popular in parish churches, except where great economy is in question, when chairs have the

decided preference. In cathedrals, on the contrary, I believe it will be a very even matter, and one which circumstances must decide in each case. The risk with chairs is that of overcrowding, while the notion that one form of seating blocks up a church more than another is mere imagination.

As I have just observed, we crave breadth no less than length in our choirs. Breadth is, indeed, the weak point of many of the old cathedrals of England; and its insufficiency is the greatest stumbling-block—far more than any cumbrous and excessive length—to the correct rearrangement of their choirs; as I have become personally sensible from my connexion with the restoration both of Lichfield and Chichester Cathedrals, in both which churches the addition of a few feet to the width of the choir would be hailed as a precious blessing. But there is another requisite as needful as breadth for artistic, practical, and religious objects, to which I cannot too often recur or too strongly insist on, that is, the proper graduation of the eastern portion of the church. The choir proper, where the stalls are placed, may well rise some steps above the nave, though their number must be limited; but beyond the choir proper, appearance and reverence alike demand a spacious sanctuary; and if that sanctuary is a dead level, then most assuredly the church will be the loser both in appearance and in utility. Nothing, in short, more surely stamps the able architect than the judicious arrangement of his levels, rising boldly yet not abruptly from the west of the choir to the platform on

which the Lord's Table stands. I do not enlarge upon the fittings of the choir. The artistic importance of the choir-stalls will not, of course, escape the architect's attention; nor yet the necessity of combining with them a well-proportioned bishop's throne. Whether the stalls are to be backed with canopy-work or hangings, or to be left open behind, with their screens of metal, wood, stone, or marble, to the choir aisle, is a matter which must depend upon the particular conditions of the church. All that I feel bound to do is to recapitulate the alternative possibilities. One thing, however, I must protest against as equally abhorrent to ancient practice and modern good taste, the cutting up and framing of the stalls in little slices between successive pillars—a fate which has befallen the curious seventeenth century Gothic stalls of wood at Durham, and the poor modern stalls of stone at Wells, while the plaster specimens of this mistake, which Bernasconi inflicted on Lichfield, have happily disappeared. The litany-desk and lectern afford felicitous opportunities for proving the carver's or the metal-worker's art. The style and the place of the organ is a topic with which, as one unversed in music, I shrink from grappling further than to denounce the vulgar position over the west screen of the choir, and to point out with what success the old organ of St. Paul's has been, by Sir Charles Barry's advice, removed to the north side of the choir, over the stalls, where, there is good documentary reason to suppose, Wren himself would have gladly seen it. I have heard that in Sir Frederick Ouseley's almost cathe-

dral at Tenbury, Herefordshire (the work of Mr. Woodyer), the organ fills the north transept with very good effect; while in Carpenter's restoration of the west portion of Sherborne Minster (a virtual cathedral) the same site was boldly and successfully chosen. At Lichfield the new organ will be placed on the north of the choir, the old one having surmounted a solid screen; and at Ely the instrument, boldly corbelling out from the choir triforium on the north side, forms, with its carved and decorated case, one of the artistic decorations of the structure. Of old the organ has stood on the north side of the stalls of Winchester (which fill the crossing), and at Canterbury it has been ingeniously fitted into the south choir clerestory. At Armagh a site has been found for it in the north transept. In all these instances the central site has been repudiated. The size and the design of the font, and the appropriation of some particular area of the cathedral to serve as a baptistery, are points to which the architect ought to direct his attention when planning the nave. It is sufficient to observe, that in the cathedral those features must be well brought out, and that the place of the font should not be left for accident to settle in the last resort. In fact, the cathedral baptistery, while placed, according to old usage, sanctioned by our canons, near the west door, ought to fulfil the practical requisite of being within sight and sound of the congregation, while it should be only inferior to the choir and east end in the artistic richness of its adornments.

An important constructional consideration now in-

vites our attention—the form of the eastern end of the church, and the relation which it bears to the Lord's Table. The plans which I have produced exhibit the three particular varieties of that east end:—

1. The square end, most common in England and Ireland, found in Scotland, and not unknown abroad, either in actual practice or as indicated in the curious sketches of Wilars of Honecort which I have already given.

2. The apse without the circumambient aisle.

3. The apse with that aisle, or "*chevet*" as Mr. Fergusson terms it.

I contend that all these forms are admissible in our new cathedral. I do not think that I am likely to be contradicted in my assertion as to the first or the second. Neither do I expect, at the present day, to find much opposition when I express my conviction that, at all events for a church of minster-like character, the apse is the more dignified termination, although there is in the square end a field either for glass or for opaque wall-painting which is not to be found elsewhere, and that for this, as for other causes, it may often be desirable to adopt that form. But I cannot expect my conviction of the legitimacy of the *chevet* for an English cathedral to be so unanimously accepted. It seems to the superficial disputant to be such a waste of available space. I will presently show more than one reason why it is really not a waste; but, even if it were one, I ask how much space is really lost in the creation of a feature

which he who knows, on the one side, Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral, and, on the other, the little private chapel (No. 49) of our Norman kings



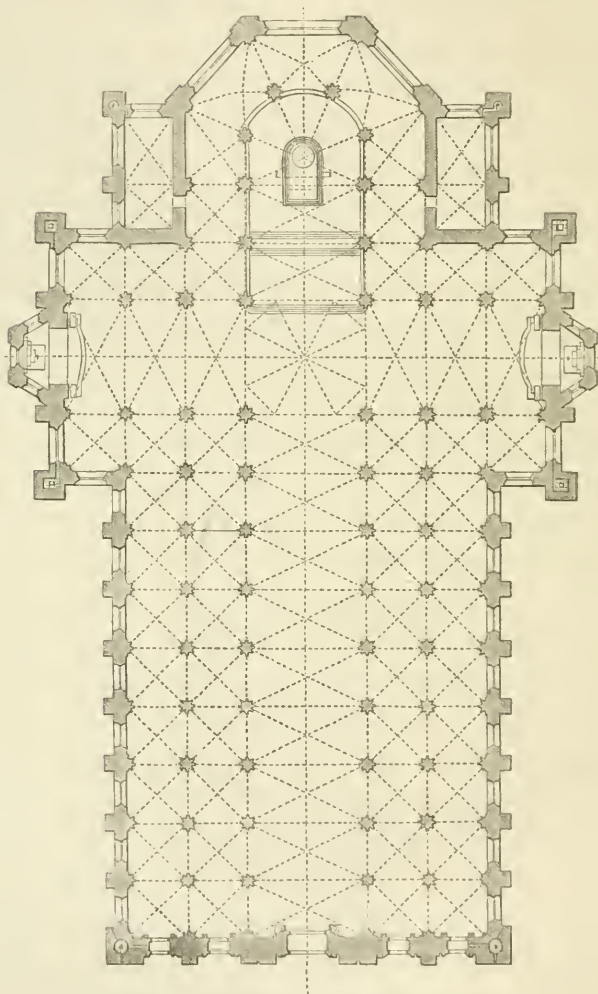
49.
Plan of Chapel
in Tower of
London.

in the White Tower, or he who can imagine St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, restored, must be constrained to own has an especial architectural value? Why, the space which will be occupied by a semicircular ring of some fifteen feet in breadth turned on the average on an internal radius of the same dimension, and by the thickness of the wall to boot. Is this a matter to haggle about? But (to postpone for the present one particular use of this aisle, on which I shall insist hereafter) is it really a useless appendage? may not communication be often needed from one side of the choir to the other? and cannot this communication be more quietly and more decorously conducted through the existence of such a by-road than by directly crossing the sanctuary itself? Besides, why may not the chapter-house, the vestries, or the library, stand at the extreme east end of our cathedral, seeing that we have no Lady Chapel? The architect of originality might easily find out a shape for them which would recall Becket's Crown at Canterbury or Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster—both abnormal buildings indeed, but both buildings that nobody would like to see suppressed. Becket's Crown is in fact of the normal shape of many chapter-houses. Of course, if such a device were adopted, *cadit quæstio*, for this eastern aisle then becomes a necessity of communication.

There is undoubtedly a general notion afloat that

this apsidal aisle only exists in connection with apsidal chapels, and that to reproduce it, therefore (as Mr. Burges proposes to do in his churches of Brisbane and Constantinople, and Mr. Slater at Inverness), in our Communion, where such chapels are impossible, is to sacrifice sense to sight. But architectural facts contradict that impression. Assuredly in France the aisle and the chapels all but universally went together; while in Germany the apse was frequently destitute of both. But in London I can point, for the contrary, to those two noble bequests of Norman days the chapel in the White Tower and St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, where (although the church apparently ends with a hideous flat wall) the aisle itself is still in existence behind. At Canterbury the apse aisle would be wholly devoid of chapels but for the parasitical though beautiful "Crown" and the long posterior and puny chantry of Henry IV. entered from a door alike narrow and low. Abroad, the cathedral of Basle, of late Romanesque date, possesses a chapel-less aisle; while in the larger and nobler first Pointed cathedral of Lausanne there is only a single eastern chapel of small dimensions. The cathedral of Haarlem, of which I have given the plan, is also a signal example. But the church on which I chiefly rely is one raised in the florid days of later Gothic, large in its dimensions, rich in its details, lavish in its expenditure of space,—the Duomo of Milan. This, as I have already had occasion to point out, was originally built for a single altar only, and so the eastern aisle would have been useless as a means of communication between

chapels. Yet the eastern aisle of Milan Cathedral is one of the noblest features of that magnificent structure.



50.

Plan of Milan Cathedral. 100 feet to inch.

As the accompanying plan (No. 50) shows, it is carried round the apse without any diminution of the width of that internal nave and choir aisle of which it

is the prolongation. It is of three bays, and each bay is occupied with an enormous traceried window of many lights, filled with glaring painted glass. These north and south windows respectively are seen from the very west end of the whole cathedral, though of course at a considerable angle. The adjustment of proportions is however so admirable that each of those storied openings capping the centre of its respective aisle has the value and almost the appearance of a narrower end-window, seen full-face, the tone itself of the painted glass gaining by this circumstance. I do not remember to have seen this peculiar effect noticed by any writer, but it struck me so forcibly on my first entrance into Milan Cathedral as to leave no doubt on my mind that it was intended by the architect. No one can be sanguine enough to look for any such apse as that of Milan in our English cathedral, but it exists as the standing demonstration of the applicability not only of the apse, but of the aisled apse, to a church where the multiplication of altars is not the one thing cared for. Having thus made good my position, I shall not further press the point. Those who have seen Canterbury and Westminster, and do not intuitively feel the advantage of the aisled apse, cannot be argued into conviction.

I said above that the position of the Lord's Table depended upon the form of the east end. When the east end is square the altar is often placed against it; but it can never be so placed in a cathedral without detriment to the effect of the pile; and accordingly, in every modern cathedral restoration of a satisfactory

nature, it has been brought forward and a reredos more or less stately erected behind it. Ely is a sufficient instance, where Mr. Scott has combined rich material and graceful architecture with the resources of sculpture, both in groups and single figures. I should add that Messrs. Prichard and Seddon have devoted much thought to the reredos at Llandaff, for which Mr. Rossetti is painting a picture, and that the use of the varied marbles of Derbyshire will be found a noteworthy feature of the one to be constructed at Lichfield; while at Chichester the altar will be preserved in its ancient place, a little in advance of that which it recently occupied, and will be backed by a reredos. The reredos also forms a feature in the restoration at Hereford, and of the otherwise far from satisfactory one at Wells, not to mention the specimen in confectionary Perpendicular which the late Mr. Austen inflicted on Canterbury Cathedral. But as even in a square-ended church of dignified character the altar had better not stand against the eastern wall, so *a fortiori* in an apsidal one this position becomes a positive blunder, which ought to be at once rectified by moving it at least as far west as the chord of the apse. At St. Paul's accordingly, as I may without breach of confidence say, the honoured voice of Sir Charles Barry was strongly and successfully raised in the Restoration Committee in favour of advancing the Lord's Table from its present undignified position at the end of the apse, and of canopying it with a lofty baldachino of rich material and noble architecture, and the detailed designs for this impor-

tant feature are in the course of preparation. The miserable restoration which Wyatt perpetrated at Lichfield had destroyed the old reredos and thrust the altar back to the end of the apsidal Lady Chapel; now as we see the reparation of this injury is not far distant. These considerations are an additional argument in favour of the sanctuary being amply and gradually raised, and for its unencumbered area being spacious; not only from reasons of beauty and solemnity, but for the physical accommodation of large communions, ordinations, visitations, confirmations, and so forth.

All these considerations, to which I have alluded rather than argued them out, are proofs of the dictum with which I started in this treatise, that our Cathedral ought, for practical reasons, to approximate more nearly in its dimensions to the ancient models than the church-building tastes of the present age have as yet realised. I have mostly insisted on the dimension of length; but I am as strongly convinced, as I have incidentally observed, that our architects are right in enforcing, as they now generally do, the claims of breadth also. Indeed, among the points in which the Gothic churches of this day are most superior to even the best—to those, for instance, of Mr. Scott, of Pugin, or of Carpenter — built ten or fifteen years since, none is more apparent than that their designers have, with increase of experience, increasingly apprehended that to build narrowly is to build meanly and inconveniently. I am not sure if we ought not to go even further, and in our Cathedral

to reduce the width of the aisles so as to make them rather thoroughfares than places of congregational accommodation ; while for this object the nave should be proportionably broadened. The expense of roofing the wider central area may be enhanced, but the compensating gain both in practical utility and artistic effect will well repay the outlay. In Mr. Street's church, for instance, proposed for Constantinople, a noble cathedral effect has been produced without any aisles at all, by its fine cruciform and apsidal plan.

The next incident which I propose to treat is that of height, and, as a corollary to this consideration, I shall enter upon the question of the roofing. As a postulate, I beg leave to assume that no constructive consideration, except that of acoustics, can interfere with our giving to the cathedral the greatest safe available altitude consistent with due proportion. It is but a matter of money, and so I need only say that, as far as effect, both external and internal, is concerned, money cannot be better spent. All who have an eye must be struck with the grandeur of a lofty old minster, with its triple division of arcade, triforium, and clerestory, as being immeasurably superior to the double one of arcade and clerestory, which took its place in the latest days of Pointed even in such places as Milan and Antwerp Cathedrals, and, to come home, in the nave of Canterbury, and the far finer one of Winchester, in the latter of which instances the present building was cobbled out of the antecedent three-storied Romanesque structure. The nave of Canterbury is one of the loftiest Gothic monu-

ments in England, and its arches are of unusual altitude. Still there is a great shortcoming in its cathedral-like effect. In the nave, too, of York, though late in the second style, the triforium is minimized, while it is wholly wanting in the third Pointed choir. At Ely, on the contrary, the preservation of the triforium throughout the cathedral is one of its grandest features. Can we revive this triple division in the cathedral? Money of course must be considered, and also the feeling of reality. While, as I have said, I should not be driven from building the eastern aisle round my apse by any imputation of its not being practically wanted, I should not think it right to erect galleries such as we find in the triforia of Ely and of Westminster, and such as exists at Waltham, without some strong compelling cause. In the former case I calculate that the result to be attained would justify the outlay of money and material. I am not so clear that it would do so in the latter instance, as the adoption or rejection of that gallery would influence the whole building from the foundation to the roof.

These galleries open out a curious by-passage in the history of churchbuilding. I shall not attempt to trace it through its basilican and early monastic days, nor shall I do more than allude to the provision which the early Eastern Church made, with true Oriental feeling, for the segregation of women into galleries. We find that, when the normal minster type had been settled, in the days of complete Romanesque, the triforial gallery was of constant recurrence.

It is found at S. Ambrogio, Milan—that church which so strangely combines in its present form, as rebuilt by Bishop Anspertus in the ninth century, the Romanesque architecture of a posterior age with the peculiar arrangements of antecedent times. At S. Michele, at Pavia, too, the galleries are equally important. If we accept the supposition that S. Castor, at Coblenz, is the church which gives the date to the formal transplantation of Lombard Romanesque to the Rhine by Charles the Great's sons in the early years of the ninth century, then in the churches which belong to its school we find that the same use of the huge triforium gallery which distinguishes their Lombard prototypes grew up in time, although its adoption was not universal. We look for it in vain at Mentz, or Worms, or Spire, or in the Apostles' Church at Cologne. "But," to quote Dr. Whewell, with these and some other reservations, "in the early German churches the case is different. In almost all that decidedly belong to this class we have, instead of the blank wall of the former class, a large open gallery, forming a second story to the side aisle. And in most of these instances, or at least in the churches on the Rhine above Bonn, this gallery is still appropriated to a particular part of the congregation, namely, the young men, and is generally called the *Männerchor*, or, as I was told at Sinzig, the *Mannhaus*. This gallery naturally makes it convenient to have the pier-arches somewhat low, which, it has been already observed, is the case." *

* 'Architectural Notes on German Churches,' 3rd edit., 1842, p. 106.

The section which I have given of S. Gereon, Cologne, shows such a triforium in the nave, which is still filled with sittings. It also shows above another glazed compartment, which may be viewed as an upper triforium or a lower clerestory. But, previously to its reappearance in Germany, the triforial gallery had made good its position elsewhere. In the Romanesque nave of Tournay Cathedral, in Flanders, it is of equal height with the arcade beneath, while over it is a secondary triforium of arcading. All Englishmen ought to know the grandeur of these galleries at Ely and Peterborough. The Early Pointed circular nave of the Temple Church possesses a noble triforium; and even in the little round church of St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, of pure Norman or Romanesque, there is a pronounced triforium. In the days of complete Pointed the triforia of Westminster illustrate the age which produced such a masterpiece of combined grace and dignity. Galleries as large exist in many early French churches, such as Notre Dame at Paris, the Cathedral of Laon, and Notre Dame at Châlons-sur-Marne; while in the two latter cases it is accompanied with the secondary arcaded triforium above—a feature which, though found in various French examples, can hardly approve itself to a critical taste. Yet even in First Pointed the arcaded, as contrasted with the galleried, triforium was very common—witness the nave of Lausanne, and the choir of St. Saviour's, Southwark. As Middle Pointed rose and matured, the gallery gave place to the arcade; and so far architecture, considered in its æsthetic rather than its

practical aspect, suffered a harm. To be sure, at Ely, in the later days of the flowing style, the galleried triforium reappears in full dimensions; but there it was physically wanted, in order to make a junction with a Romanesque western and a First Pointed eastern portion. With all the grandeur of Cologne Cathedral, the weakness of its triforium (a mere gangway) is an element of inferiority compared with the noble rival church of Amiens, while all the splendours of Milan cannot atone for the total want of a triforium. In fact, in Third Pointed everywhere, as I have already said, triforia altogether became extremely rare, if not unknown, except in Spain,* although the gallery in the form of a groined excrescence canopying the aisles and springing from the pillars at mid-height, with its basement of pointed arches, is found in that most remarkable, and in its way striking revival, the Jesuits' Church at Cologne, built, in very fair Flamboyant, with fine cruciform proportions, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

After this recapitulation I may be asked to explain the object for which these triforial galleries were really meant. In reply, I must frankly own that I am puzzled how I am fully to answer the demand. The evidence which Dr. Whewell cites of the present name and use of such galleries in Germany, coupled with their self-evident adaptability to such a purpose, may be assumed to show that they were sometimes

* At S. Severin, Paris, a very beautiful Flamboyant triforium takes up a Middle Pointed one of the same dimensions.

used as we use galleries in churches. Again, however, many of them contain or contained altars ; therefore they were chapels. On the other hand, singers at great festivals were doubtless often placed in them, and they were applicable to let down hangings as well as for gangways. Often, also, I have little doubt, they were no more than the embodiment of that superb disregard of space which characterises so many other features of mediæval churchbuilding. Anyhow, there they are ; and the theorist may be excused for asking whether, with such precedents before him, the use of triforial galleries ought to be absolutely banned in our new cathedrals and churches. To this question I should answer on the one side, that, despite precedent, and considering we have no Oriental notions of secluding women, or disciplinary ideas of segregating the young men or young women, it is a matter of plain common sense and religious decency, that, if there is room for a ground-floor to hold the entire congregation, then that ground-floor had better be provided. But on the other side, I must add that, if a gallery were in any case admissible, it must be a constructional one, and not one of those wretched scaffoldings on cast-iron pillars or brackets with which so many of our churches are disfigured. In a word, if a church is to be built for galleries, then the ordinary English parochial type of church-building must be abandoned for a cathedral one, in which, as of old, the galleried triforium plays a conspicuous part, and which is the reverse of uncommon in the town churches of continental cities. The chapel in the White Tower, though

so small, is surrounded with a large gallery-triforium, the pew in fact of our old kings, and entered from their private apartments. If ever an architect of courage and originality should produce a design for a town church in a crowded locality—be it parochial, collegiate, or cathedral—in which the difficulties of accommodation are honestly recognised and boldly grappled with, not by botches and makeshifts, by scaffoldings and private boxes, but by a genuine constructional treatment—such a treatment, for example, as the nave of St. Sepulchre, Cambridge, presents, where a very small rotunda is so handled as to be, in spite of site and plan and of its early date, a truly minster-like conception—then most assuredly this architect would deserve the most respectful consideration, and would have the right to claim the most conscientious criticism for his invention. With all the architectural talent fermenting around us, is it asking too much to throw out a challenge for such an attempt? With one more hint I leave the topic, which is by many years far from new to my mind, though I have never before given public expression to it,—that a triforial nave demands a many-stepped chancel.

But, in fact, the triforium for internal effect need not absolutely be a gallery; it only needs to be an areading. The aisle-roofs must abut against some space of blank wall; and in a large church this space of wall must possess a certain definite and appreciable altitude, if measured from the apex of the arches to the base of the clerestory lights. The commonplace

way of treating it is that of simply fiddling it away either by running a horizontal stringcourse at the middle distance, like a line ruled by a writing-master, which utterly obliterates the idea of space either above or below, or by the one degree better plan of lifting this stringcourse so as to form a base to the windows. The inventive architect ought, I contend, to utilise this horizontal expanse by applying it towards the general effect of height, which it ought to be his object to produce. It is in his power to deal with it as a triforium, or as a middle story tantamount to a triforium. Towards this result that expanse may be arcaded, and if the arcading-shafts are of coloured material so much the better; while the back spaces of the arcading may be diapered in relief, tinted, or stencilled, or inlaid with coloured material, such as marbles, tiles, or glass mosaics in patterns, or else it may be hung with tapestry; or otherwise, the arcading may be so disposed as to form a series of panels for pictures. In some way or other even a shallow arcading may, by the introduction of light and shade, or of positive colour, be so treated as to create the feeling of profundity. Such a triforium will not be the gallery of the old minster, but it will be an architectural and a constructional reality; and the whole effect of the church will inevitably be much better than if that middle vertical member had been omitted. In using the word arcading I do not, of course, confine myself to a series of arcuated openings. It may, with excellent effect, assume the form of rectangular panels for paintings running along the triforial line.

The most considerable exhibition of triforial arcading, in modern times, to which I can call attention—that of the cathedral-like church of Ste. Clotilde at Paris—fails in effect, owing to its shallowness. But the space which a clever manipulation of height has secured for this feature indicates how effective it might have been in better hands. Per contra, a small church, lately built at Boulogne (I fear by an English architect), with a sham triforium over a series of side-board chapels, and under a feeble clerestory and still feebler imitative groining, exists as a warning against playing with forms which have a minimum as well as a maximum of solidity and size to render them tolerable. The combination of triforium and clerestory which is found in Carpenter's proposed cathedral for Colombo and in Mr. Burges' cathedral for Brisbane puts out of the question the desired triple arrangement; but both of these designs exhibit a masterly dealing with features of which the present generation has been very chary, while willing enough to waste money on details which are quite as expensive and certainly not a whit more practical. I have had to blame the restoration of Spire's Cathedral for the cold unreality of its ritual arrangements; while in an architectural point of view I have grave faults to find. But in one respect, at all events, cleverness and refined taste are manifested in the artistic manipulation of this vast church. The successive bays of the nave exhibited, viewed vertically, a series of coupled arch bays in each vaulting bay, respectively comprising a low and narrow round-headed

arch, a large blank space, and then a clerestory window, all set back between a series of recurring pilaster-slips. It is right to notice that in the head of each vaulting bay, that is over each couple of arch bays, there is also a small single-light upper clerestory window, which has not much importance in the internal composition. Well, then, in the arch bays the successive blank spaces between the arches and the lower clerestory—composing as they did a hypothetical middle story—have been laid hold of by Schraudolph and treated as rectangular panels for the admirable series of paintings with which he has decorated that nave. Thus architecturally viewed, the cathedral retains the vertical distribution of its bays; but pictorially, the range of medial paintings more than supplies the place of a constructive triforium.

I take the clerestory for granted as an indispensable feature of the cathedral, while I specially urge upon the architect not to spare all pains in giving to it its due importance. Mr. Butterfield's clever church at Stoke Newington is a proof of the artistic value of a tall clerestory, however thin the wall may be in which it is set; and the section of Brisbane exemplifies the play which an ingenious architect may make with a clerestory, if deeply recessed in its wall. It was, indeed, in the exhibition of the clerestory in its due dimensions that Third Pointed sought compensation for the omission of the triforium. Perfect Gothic, I need hardly say, ought to render full justice to both the features, and both of them may be dealt with within a reasonable compass, if the main arcade is not unduly

elevated. It ought as little to be unduly depressed in order to bring them forcibly in. The nave of Tournay is a warning against that mistake, for, in spite of its double triforium, it looks absolutely squat, owing to the lowness of the arcade.

The internal roof of the cathedral is a topic which will require a more careful consideration. I do not for one instant hesitate to say that the principal roofs must all be groined or coved in stone or brick or wood. Stone is of course generally the best, though Mr. Le Strange has taught us to what good use wood may be put in the magnificent legend which he is inscribing upon the now coved roof of Ely nave in lieu of that quaint succession of rafters with which it was formerly spanned. The open-timbered roofs of England undoubtedly possess a picturesqueness of their own. In college and domestic halls they are very appropriate, and therefore beautiful; and I may go so far as to say that I do not doubt that they may have at times helped to preserve that free variety in the village churches of our land which the universal prevalence of groining abroad may have tended to cramp. Yet they are, emphatically, church and not cathedral features. I do not pretend to enter deeply into the philosophic reasons of this fact, which depends upon the laws of perspective foreshortening for its explanation. It is sufficient for me to claim assent to the dictum that roofs, of which the transverse internal section shows an arch either curvilinear (which is the case with groining or barrel vaulting) or many-sided (which is the case with a polygonal coving, like that to

which I have referred at Ely), correspond better with the wall-treatment, and more completely combine to create that feeling of the infinite which it is the function of a Gothic church to produce, than roofs whose internal section is that of a single angle, which must be the case with all open-timbered roofs, however much the eye is deceived and flattered by the play of carved work about the trusses. Indeed, strange to say, a perfectly flat ceiling, if properly decorated, like the one which has long existed at Peterborough, and that which Mr. Burges and Mr. Pointer have cleverly rearranged at Waltham, wears more of the cathedral aspect than the most elaborate open roof which Norfolk or Somersetshire could produce.

Stone, as I have said, is the most perfect material for groining, if for no other reason, at least for its comparative incombustibility. Its chief drawbacks are its price and its weight, that weight necessitating, as it must do, the external addition of flying buttresses to counteract the thrust. Flying buttresses, in their ornatest form, with their accompaniment of pinnacles, carved, crocketed, and all alive with multitudinous imagery, are, as the great cathedrals of the world testify, a most fertile field for artistic invention and a sovereign decoration where they are well conceived. But assuredly in those cathedrals they have swallowed up a king's ransom. But the lighter kinds of stone, such as clunch and chalk (which is employed in the chancel of All Saints', Margaret Street), may be employed in groining without requiring an excessive

counterthrust. The drawback of these stones is, I need hardly point out, that under fire they calcine.

The risk of conflagration apart, there is, however, no reason against the still lighter and still cheaper expedient of wooden groining, in spite of the warning which York Minster has twice given in our own generation. There, as it is well known, the whole space of the nave and choir was spanned with groins of wood; and accordingly, first in 1829 a wilful conflagration destroyed that of the choir, and a few years later a fire caused by carelessness swept off that of the nave. However, the wooden groining of the choir of Selby Abbey, a beautiful work of the fourteenth century, is still intact, and has been copied, together with the remainder of this choir, in that strange amalgamation the Roman Catholic cathedral of Salford.* The presbytery of Winchester Cathedral is likewise groined in wood. I should also quote the wooden groining which crowns the eastern limb of St. Alban's Abbey. In that instance the groining is the vehicle for pictorial art; but where there are reasons of economy to suspend decoration, the natural wood, with its own grain showing through a light staining, will always have a real and pleasing effect. The bosses, like those of old York, would be an endless opportunity for the carver's fancy. I only mention

* This building, which is of considerable dimensions, is compounded of the nave of Howden Collegiate Church, the steeple of Newark placed centrally, and the choir of Selby. The transepts, which I believe are original, are lower than the main structure, and thus militate against the cathedral character of the church.

to reprobate the now happily discarded trick of sham plaster groinings dabbed over trumpery laths. It may not be generally known that Wyatt substituted fac-simile plaster for stone groining in Lichfield nave.

There is an objection to groining of a mechanical nature which must be noticed, namely, that, however it may tend to produce the moral effect of height, yet as a fact it diminishes most considerably the absolute height, as any man may learn for himself who visits that huge apartment which exists over the groining in every cathedral where the old pitch of the roofs has been preserved. Churches like the cathedrals of Cologne and Amiens present an enormous internal altitude in spite of this drawback. But there are other groined cathedrals—Lichfield, for example—where the deficiency of height is positively painful, in spite of the great architectural beauty of the structure. But in all cases where the architect judges that he had better forego groining rather than cramp himself within a dimension of height which he feels to be physically insufficient, his resource is obvious. He has but to crown his church with a coved or a polygonal roof of stone and wood. By so doing he gains the advantage of the entire vertical height of the walls.*

* I may here notice (not for the purpose of imitation except under similar circumstances) that the nature of the quaggy foundation in Holland, particularly at Amsterdam, where every building stands on piles, led the churchbuilders of the fifteenth century to adopt a peculiar form of roofing in the large churches, which is, under the circumstances, very practical, and

There is an expedient, of which the possibility has occurred to me, but which I approach with some diffidence, as I promised at the outset not to stray into the labyrinth of future metallic Gothic. Still I may be pardoned for the passing remark that it has often struck me that there might be one very feasible and very legitimate application of iron to church construction, namely, as the material of vaulting ribs. If it were so applied, the filling could be of the thinnest and yet the most richly ornamental porcelain or terracotta, while the weight of the vault itself would be so essentially diminished that it could be erected of even a very wide span without requiring, or only requiring to a moderate degree, the support of flying buttresses. The fillings, I need hardly indicate, would receive their decoration either of enamelling or of impressed work in the manufacturer's workshop. In such a groining the bosses would be only ornamental, not constructive, and, if adopted at all, ought to be fictile, not metallic.

It is somewhat remarkable that stone groining, which our architects have so seldom the courage to grapple with, now that the century is more than three-fifths run out, should have characterized a London church erected during the first faint struggles of re-

therefore praiseworthy. It is a species of wooden roofing, partly coving, partly groining, but profusely braced together with tie beams. St. Nicholas (commonly called the "old church") at Amsterdam, a large low pile built on a cathedral plan, is a remarkable specimen of this method, and looks almost as if it had been roofed by a shipbuilder, which may very probably have been the case. Mr. Slater's roof at St. Kitts is a parallel instance of meeting a parallel need.

vived Gothic in George IV.'s reign. In St. Luke's, Chelsea, the experiment was boldly made by Mr. Savage, and his name ought to be had in honour by those who have endeavoured so many years later to take up the thread where he left it. In fact, in that early school of Gothic of which this church, and Dr. Routh's at Theale, and those which Sir Charles Barry built in London and Brighton are examples, there was, with all their faults, a sort of grandeur which has often been forgotten in the more correct works of later days. The fault of those architects was, that they took cathedral features and applied them to parish churches, but this mistake was on the better side. Our risk is the less noble fault of importing parochial elements into cathedrals.

These observations are of course exclusively applicable to the roofing of the main branches of the cross—nave, choir, and transepts. The treatment of the aisle roofs leads us back again to the question of the triforium. The aisles which are groined either with wood or stone require a horizontal wall space in the nave, between the arcade and the clerestory, for the roofing to mortice into, and this space, as I have argued, had much better be ruled out into a triforium, or quasi-triforium, than be wasted into nothingness. There is indeed a treatment of the aisles which has latterly come into considerable vogue in English churchbuilding, and which may often help out the difficulty where the nave is vaulted. I mean the disposition of each bay as a separate gable, roofed at right angles to the main roof of the church. Some

few examples of this treatment occur in England, as at Potterne in Wilts, and St. Giles's, Oxford, not to mention the row of chapels at St. Mary, Scarborough (a former Cistercian church), ranging beyond the south aisle, but it is mainly and emphatically a German feature. If, however, it is good in itself, it is none the worse for having crossed the water. Mr. Scott is particularly fond of this method, having adopted it with considerable success in his church at Dundee, and not quite so felicitously in the large church of St. Mary, Stoke Newington, and the smaller one of St. Andrew, Vauxhall Road. These gabled aisles, in their legitimate and original intent, implied stone-ribbed and coved roofs. Ritually, too, they presupposed, more or less, that the successive bays should be used as chapels, with partitions, either constructive or decorative, between them, against which the altars might stand. This, at Scarborough, where each chapel is divided from the others by walls, is roofed with a ribbed coving of stone. To gabled aisles with stone vaults in England, if the money could be forthcoming for them, I would have no architectural objection. Neither do I object to them if they are distinctly roofed with separate wood coves, which might abut on horizontal lintel beams at right angles to the axis of the Church. But I perceive a tendency growing up among the architects who use them to look upon them simply as pretty external ornaments, and to frame their aisle-roof in the ordinary sloping way, merely turning it up with a peak at the gable. Against this abuse I most vehemently

protest ; and I do so not less strongly against a use which I have observed has, in more than one place, been made of gabled aisles, that of carrying off externally the design of a church where mere metal pillars and scaffolds replace a more legitimate internal design. I wish that our church architects would be induced to make a compact only to employ these gabled aisles when the body of the church was groined or coved. If they did so, we might hope to see minster-like designs carried out in our churches, developed in forms combining originality of treatment with a truthful use of precedent.

There are three places of worship, erected within the few last years in London, which illustrate, very remarkably, what I have been saying respecting the desirability of a triforium range, and about the preferable system of internal roofing. The Roman Catholic Cathedral in St. George's Fields was designed by Pugin about twenty years ago, and therefore deserves very tender handling. He had to spread a small sum of money over a very large area, and the building which he produced was in the first instance only reckoned as a parish church : consequently to test it by the criterion of the present day and of its actual dignity would be unfair. It has decided merits, the most conspicuous having been the high expanse of the western tower opening into the church, which was no sooner finished than it was obliterated by the erection of a lumbering organ-loft. But yet the general effect is depressing, from the heavy effect of the three parallel open timber roofs resting upon the aisles without the

interposition of triforium or clerestory. The choir, moreover, is much too short in proportion to the nave, besides being of an inferior height, and the chapels which terminate the aisles contribute by their insignificance still further to damage the general appearance. The model which Pugin followed, the nave of the late Middle Pointed church of the Austin Friars, which is still standing in a quiet by-nook of the City, having been given by Edward VI. to the Dutch, and having escaped the fire of 1666, has the same plan, three parallel naves without triforium or clerestory; but there the roofs are coved. Thus, although the old church is inferior to its new rival in many details, such as window tracery, which is all of one pattern at Austin Friars, while in St. George's Pugin has taxed his invention to vary it, the general effect is much superior, even if we allow for the loss of its choir and its general neglected condition. Indeed, though raised upon a much smaller area, and at an even cheaper rate in proportion, Pugin's still earlier cathedral at Birmingham, from its considerable height and its cruciform plan, surpasses St. George's in general effect. There the aisles, instead of having their separate gables, are spanned by the same slant roof as the nave—a bold expedient, but one which is in this instance successful in giving a general unity to the whole interior, which is perhaps the next best thing to that bold marking off of the central nave space which the triple vertical division effects.

A greater contrast to St. George's cannot well be imagined than that which is afforded by the large

place of worship which has been reared during the last decade by Mr. Raphael Brandon, in Gordon Square, for the use of the Irvingites. In size and design this building is a mediæval cathedral, though the peculiarities of the body for whose benefit it has been built prevented me from recapitulating it in my enumeration of modern cathedrals, just as I abstained from referring to the modern cathedrals which the Roman Catholics have erected in the British Isles. It is a cruciform structure, with a square east end—the nave being, however, but half built—with aisles to the nave and to the west portion of the choir, and a chapel to the east, disposed for the peculiar rites of the body which use it, but bearing a remarkable resemblance to the Lady Chapel of a Roman Catholic church. The style is that intensely English version of First Pointed which I cannot think applicable to modern times, but which Mr. Brandon has mastered and exhibited with remarkable research and fidelity. The vertical elevation comprises the three stories of arcade, triforium, and clerestory; and the entire building would have been a very complete illusion, except for one unlucky blot. The choir possesses a bold stone groin; but the nave has nothing better to show than an open roof, carefully copied from Third Pointed examples, and garnished with angels at the hammer beams, but still insufficient for, and diverse from, the character of the building. If the means had been wanting for a stone groining, or if the walls were not sufficient to bear its thrust, at least the resources of wood-groining, or of a wooden cove, ought

to have been adopted, rather than that resort should have been had to an expedient so little in harmony with the remaining structure.

The third church which helps to point the moral of this discussion is one with the building of which I have had an intimate personal concern, and about which I accordingly venture to speak rather openly and at length. The architectural responsibility of All Saints, Margaret-street, rested in my hands; and, in concert with my accomplished friend Mr. Butterfield, it was my object to work out a higher and more minster-like type of parish church than previously existed in modern English architecture. But the difficulties in the way were many: of these I need only particularise two. The design was made, and the contracts entered into, in 1849, that is to say, nearly twelve years ago; and the area upon which we had to build was a square plot which unfortunately measured only 102 feet from east to west, by 99 feet from north to south, on which not only the church, but two houses and a courtyard, had to be put. Nevertheless the experiment is one to which it is allowable to look back with feelings in which satisfaction greatly predominates. It was the first decided experiment in London of building in polychromatic material; and the numerous brood of imitations which has followed its path attests the vitality of the attempt. If the interior is analysed, the conflict of parochial and minster-like forms will at once be perceived. The unlucky reduction of the nave to three bays is a misfortune, not a fault. The pillars and arches are

those of a cathedral, and the clerestory above (whether or not exception may be taken to any of its details) is of a very vigorous character; but the practised eye of 1861 cannot fail to regret that this clerestory should stand sheer upon the arcade, as a triforial story would have doubled the architectural value of all the other members. Then the roof above has been most carefully studied by Mr. Butterfield, and yet it remains after all an open-work roof of wood, with plaster between the rafters, and somewhat bulky principals—that is, it remains a roof which is out of keeping with the rich and massive work below. The great altitude of the arcade has also led to another complication in the treatment of the framing of the aisle-roofs. This is always a weak point in an English church; and I fear that All Saints hardly throws out any particular new lights upon the subject. But in the chancel—suffering as that does from the inevitable lack of length—the groining, and the triple vertical distribution of the sanctuary and eastern walls, are, I trust, a compensation for defects for which space and date are much to blame.

After the critic has digested these new buildings I should recommend him to take a glance at the choir of the Temple Church, where he may learn a lesson of the power of groining to give value to a building which is in itself neither very long nor high. The peculiar system of this exquisite First Pointed choir—that of an aisled building, in which the groins spring at once from the pillars, without arches, triforium, or clerestory, and where accordingly the aisles are abso-

lately or approximately of the same altitude as the nave —has hardly met with due appreciation in England, although Mr. Scott has imitated this ancient example in a church at Leeds. But certainly in the former, and, I believe, in the latter case, the plan upon which the church is carried out is simple in the extreme. The old choir of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, built in late, rich Middle Pointed, which has for three centuries been the cathedral of that city, is also erected with aisles equal to the nave in height, and groined from the pillars. The details, I need hardly say, are elaborate, and the aisles present the eccentric, though not ungraceful, peculiarity of a series of what must be termed stone tie-beams resting on transverse arches, and connecting the pillars with the side walls. The Lady Chapel and its adjuncts at Salisbury Cathedral, of the purest First Pointed, are indeed another example; but their connexion with the great adjacent church has very naturally prevented this most interesting range of groinings from taking an independent place. But abroad, churches of a far more complex plan, and of different styles, have been perfected on this principle, such as Ste. Croix, at Liège, which was added on to an Early Romanesque west apse, in the epoch when Middle Pointed was merging into Flamboyant, and shows gabled chapels external to the aisles, transepts, and an apsidal choir. St. Stephen's at Mentz, which has lately been restored in excellent taste, after the fearful ravages of the dreadful explosion of a few years ago, is a singularly graceful Middle Pointed church of this type, with transepts and apsidal

choir. S. Maurice, at Lille, a Flamboyant construction, has double aisles, transepts, and a procession path round the apse, all groined from the pillars. I have been so unfortunate as not to have seen the great church at Louvain, but I believe that it is a still grander example of this form of church than any which I have cited; while many additional instances are found throughout Germany. I am seriously of opinion, that whenever the complete distribution of parts is impossible in our new cathedrals, it would be the wiser course for their architects to make short work of what they can or cannot accomplish by developing with spirit the one-storied idea. If the groins are bold, and if the pillars are tall, the effect may be far more cathedral-like than that of churches in which an ill-arranged arcade cuts off the aisles from the main body. "Numero Deus impare gaudet" has some truth about it as an artistic canon, and so the one-storied or the three-storied churches seem to have a superiority over those of two or of four stories, height in either case being equal. Of course, in such a church the design of the aisle windows is of immense importance, and the apsidal east end ought to be *de rigueur*. Churches indeed like Austin Friars and Pugin's Birmingham Cathedral may be regarded as undeveloped specimens of the genus; and the Cathedral of Milan has perhaps more affinities to a church of this kind, with the accidental addition of low clerestories to the nave and primary aisles, than to a cathedral of the usual type, with the omission of its triforium.

In this method of building, of course breadth is primarily important—not the breadth of one part or the other, but of the whole; and so the aisles play a different and more important part in the general conception to that which they fill according to the normal pattern. Large wide churches of later Gothic with thin pillars, such as St. Michael's, Coventry, and Holy Trinity, Hull, are constantly verging on the realization of an effect of which the predominating element is the subordination of both nave and aisles to the idea of a considerable and undivided breadth, in conjunction with the retention of the ancient lines of subdivision; but this idea only finds its legitimate and artistic accomplishment in the groined one-storied churches. I suppose it was some vague notion of the contingent advantages of this effect which put the Jesuits at Preston, a few years since, on the unfortunate tack of rearing a huge Gothic church on the plan of an exaggerated College Hall, and spanned by a pretentious imitation of the roof of Westminster Hall. It is at least certain that, if any architect desires, either for the sake of effect or in order to accommodate a larger congregation, to build a cathedral for English use with double aisles—a notion which I should be very sorry to be taken as encouraging—then the only possible plan by which he could hope to compass his end would be that of the one-storied church. Wooden groining would of course facilitate the erection of such a structure on a very grand scale, at a comparatively reasonable cost, while the entire building would be an honest adaptation of materials recognisedly in use to

purposes in which their real nature was not disguised, and would thus stand in striking contrast to that new church of S. Eugène at Paris, which may be regarded as the type of architectural taste in ecclesiastical matters as understood by the actual régime. For the benefit of those who have not heard of it, I must explain that this building is a framework of iron, not allowed to stand out in its own identity for good or bad as a truthful experiment of building in that material, but painted and plastered over, and so converted into the mockery of a groined one-storied church of stone.

The roof brings us naturally to the exterior, where we shall have to consider in particular the steeple, and, in connection with it, the façade and the porch. Whatever may have been the rule abroad, we may safely lay it down that, with hardly an exception, the presence in England of more than one steeple (be that steeple a tower simple or a tower capped with some form of spire) is a sign of a church of more than parochial rank—*i.e.* that it once was cathedral, monastic, or collegiate. The reverse proposition is, of course, conspicuously not true, many of our largest churches having only had one steeple. The highest form of English grandeur is that of the three steeples, capped with stone spires, at Lichfield, now a unique specimen, for the sister cathedral at Coventry, with a similar crowning, has perished these three hundred years, while the wooden spires covered with lead, which used to stand upon the three towers of Lincoln, Southwell, and Ripon Minsters, have gradually been removed. Indeed the number of churches in actual

use for worship with three towers still standing is very limited. Besides those which I have cited, there are only the minsters of Durham, York, Beverley, Peterborough, Wells, Westminster (modern, by Wren, and the central tower a mere stump), and Canterbury, where the north-west tower, the sole remnant of Lanfranc's church, was most miserably demolished in 1832, to make way for a tamer copy of the tame Perpendicular south-west tower, at a cost, I fear, of 25,000*l*. However, there are indications that previously to Perpendicular days Winchester Cathedral and St. Alban's Abbey belonged to this category, which, as we have seen above, will hereafter contain, strange to say, the new cathedral of Sydney. Chichester too, when I first penned this paragraph, occupied a distinguished place in the list with its two western spires and its noble central spire, the third in height in England, the first perhaps in beauty. We all know its catastrophe, from no oversight or mistake of those who had the charge of it, for all that skill and care could do to save it was expended by Mr. Slater and by those whom he called into counsel. Let us hope that before many years are over, this steeple will rise again from its ruins as lofty and as graceful as ever. Our mediæval architecture had however nothing to show like the nine spires of Cluny, or the seven which M. Viollet le Due proves were intended to cap Rheims, or the other seven which once so nobly crowned Laon, and of which the grand rough fragments still dominate from their steep walled hill over Champagne and Isle of France. I say nothing of the five steeples of

Tournay, for they bear a very unfortunate resemblance to an exaggerated cruet-stand from being lumped so close together. The double steeple, one central and the other at the west end, is of still rarer occurrence in England. I can only cite three examples since the fall of the west tower of Hereford at the close of the last century—Ely, where the central steeple has the form of an octagon; Wimborne Minster, in which this peculiarity saves one of our smallest collegiate churches from having externally the appearance of a mere parish-church, the western tower being of Third Pointed and long subsequent to the remaining building; and the odd fragment which still exists of Wymondham Abbey, Norfolk, where the more modern (once central) tower was the result of a whimsical quarrel between the monks who owned the choir and the parishioners, to whom the nave belonged. Exeter Cathedral has two towers of Romanesque date (the cathedral itself being late Middle Pointed), which serve as transepts. There were once two western towers, with no central steeple—a common foreign usage—at the non-cruciform Llandaff Cathedral, and I trust that the deficient one will shortly be rebuilt as a portion of that memorable restoration. The half-demolished abbeys of St. Germans and Worksop, of which the naves alone survive and are in use, have respectively double west towers; but how the central portion was treated in them I know not.

At this time of day there is hardly any occasion for me to advert to that which has now passed into an axiom, that in the two earlier styles of Gothic all

towers (speaking generally) were either capped, or were intended to be capped, by some sort of conical topping, varying from the lowest pyramid to a spire like that of Salisbury or Chichester. With the third style came in the fashion of towers whose sky-line was formed by parapets and pinnacles. In the Gothic of the future I should be sorry to see either system exclusively used, though, of course, the pyramid of some sort is the nobler termination. In England the only form of spire which was recognised was the solid one, and so we have to go to the Continent for examples of two principles of open-work spire, which, though often confounded, are really quite distinct. The first is the simple open spire built on the same plan as the solid one, but with its sides composed of pierced work. This is peculiarly a German notion, and the grandest specimen extant is the Middle Pointed spire of the Cathedral of Freiburg im Breisgau (now in the Grand Duchy of Baden); but whenever Cologne Cathedral is completed it is destined to have two such spires of even greater altitude on its two western towers, while the original design comprised a similar though less lofty central spire, now commuted, for reasons of prudence, into a *flèche*. The other principle is that of the diminishing tower of open work, compounded of a series of stages, each successively less than the one beneath, till they leave off in a small pinnacle at the top. The famous steeples of Strasburg, in late Middle Pointed, and of Antwerp, in Flamboyant, are the typical specimens of this method. Neither of these forms of open spire are known in England, and I do

not vehemently desire to see their introduction. The open spire, with all its cleverness, has an unsubstantial, confused look ; and in the case of Freiburg Cathedral the steeple certainly does not show height in proportion to its real elevation. The diminishing tower again is too artificial a conception to be easily defensible. The solid spire, on the other hand, combines the truth and the beauty of architecture ; and it may be infinitely varied by the various treatment of its bandings and its spire-lights, in examples of which the Edwardian age of English architecture is infinitely rich. Again, the resources derivable from materials of diversified colour are eminently at the service of the spire-builder. If means or solid foundations are not forthcoming for the spire of stone or brick, then the wooden one, covered with lead and slate, is always available. The attempt has been made at All Saints' Church, Margaret-street, to prove that dignity and bulk are not strangers to those materials ; and all who have visited Lubeck come back loud in their admiration of the wooden steeples of that city. One risk to be sure is to be borne in mind, that of fire ; and the fate of the spire of Old St. Paul's, London (taller than Salisbury steeple, but composed of combustible materials), is not to be forgotten—an accidental fire destroyed it in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. On the other hand, the due and moderate use of the gabled tower of the German style as the starting-point of the spire has been and may be adopted with much advantage to our popular style ; so too may the saddle-back—a form for which the

ancient churches of England give many precedents, and of which Mr. Burges makes use in Brisbane Cathedral. But it must never be forgotten that there is a form of spire peculiar to the northern part of our island, although adumbrated at Notre Dame de l'Epine, of which our modern architects have been somewhat remiss in availing themselves—I mean the Crown Imperial, or collection of ribs springing from the four angles, or from the four angles and four central points of a square tower, arching over like the crown from which the name is derived, and meeting in a point from which a spire or spirelet springs. The earliest, the least southern, and the finest existing specimen of this extant is the steeple of St. Nicholas' Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, built in the early days of Third Pointed, where the upper part assumes the proportions of a real spire. But Mr. Scott believes (although the notion has not passed unquestioned) that he has found indications of a Crown Imperial earlier and grander than that of Newcastle, which once capped or was once intended to cap the great central tower of Durham Cathedral. From Northumbria the fashion spread northward into Scotland. In the reign of Charles I. a Crown Imperial, of depressed outline, but by no means ineffective character, was raised upon the tower of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, which then became a cathedral. A similar capping had already been placed on the steeple of Linlithgow Church, now unhappily destroyed, while King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, still retains the finish.

Wren, whose practical adoption of Gothic so often

belied the contemptuous terms with which he spoke of it, bestowed a crown imperial steeple, although on an ineffective scale, upon London at St. Dunstan's in the East. I took the liberty, some years since, of urging in print that the sufficiently feeble west towers of Sydney Cathedral might be surmounted by crowns imperial, with the salutary result of giving an original expression to the design, and I venture to adhere to the opinion. I trust it is not too presumptuous to throw out a hint that, if the central piers of Westminster Abbey are too weak to bear a solid tower and spire, then a crown imperial might afford a grand central point to that honoured church. I should be sorry to see any tampering with the outline of Wren's west towers. Their detail is necessarily corrupt, but their mass shows how successfully the great architect had realised the spirit of mediæval design. There is one point in St. James's Park from which the Victoria Tower appears as if it were the central tower of the Abbey, and I advise all lovers of architecture to seek out this point. In Sir Charles Barry's earliest design for the Palace of Westminster the Victoria Tower itself was capped by a vast crown imperial, and I must own to a regret that the idea was not developed in preference to the adoption of the more commonplace angle-turrets. Towers of course are built to contain bells, and our cathedral must not be dumb. I need add no more upon this topic.

The treatment of the western tower or towers involves that of the façade, about which I shall be brief. No architect, I hope, would think of imitating

that most indefensible of mediæval shams, the western mask, run up in order to give a semblance of unreal height to the front view. In North Europe, as at Salisbury and Strasburg, this mask has double walls, with a small chamber-space between them. In the Gothic churches of Italy, such as Como, Orvieto, and Siena, it is still more indefensibly a single wall or solid screen. The invention carries its own condemnation with it. Any advantage which may be gained to the front view is more than lost as soon as the curious spectator begins, however little, to turn the corner. Besides, the screen may easily defeat its own object, as at Strasburg, where it is at once so high and so square (which, at least, the Italian examples are not), that the west end of that cathedral looks absolutely high-shouldered, to the detriment of the spire itself, which accordingly fails in effect compared with the later example at Antwerp. In the finest and richest west front with which I am acquainted—that of Rheims—there is no sham façade, but the gable rises honestly at its own height, as it does in the towers of Chartres, Amiens, Notre Dame, and York; for an open horizontal gallery, there and elsewhere, tying together the towers—whether an improvement or not on such a façade as that of Wells—cannot be confounded with a device intended to give an unreal notion of the height of the building behind it.

Foreign cathedrals shine in the vastness of their western portals, which are frequently triple on the west front—particularly where there are double towers—with statues in the soffits and carvings in

the tympana over the doors; while those that give access to the transepts are hardly inferior in magnificence. With us the west door was not an object of so much solicitude, and the access to the church was often through a single portal. The grand Romanesque arch which spans the west end of Tewkesbury Abbey, and the triple First Pointed arcade veiling the Romanesque nave of Peterborough, are both of them unique examples, except that an imitation of the latter idea exists on a small scale at Snettisham church, Norfolk. The nave of Fredericton Cathedral is a copy of Snettisham, and this feature is not omitted. It is very well suited for a cold climate, and it has accordingly been repeated at Montreal. The transept entrances were likewise of a more modest character. But on the side porch of the large churches—a peculiarly English feature—the utmost richness of carving was expended. Sherborne Minster possesses such a porch of Romanesque date. The First Pointed side-porches of Salisbury and Lincoln, the Middle Pointed one of St. Mary's, Redcliffe, Bristol, and the Perpendicular one of Canterbury, are examples enough to illustrate my point; while the Galilee porch of Ely, though placed at the west end, reproduces the same conception. Such porches abroad are very rare, and the existence of the splendid Flamboyant one at Alby is attributable to the nature of the ground not permitting a west door. I am not sanguine enough to imagine that the architect of any English cathedral would ever have it in his power to imitate, even at a long interval, the portals of Rheims or Chartres. His

choice must lie between throwing his chief force on a more modest chief western entrance and of reviving the English porch. On this head I have but one counsel to give: Consult common sense, and see on which side your church is most conspicuous and most accessible, and on that make your principal entrance.

As to the roof, it would be intolerable to think of framing the roof of a new cathedral with any other pitch except a high one. But if taste and convenience alike in our climate order the high pitch, natural prudence equally enjoins that the safety of the church shall not be put out to pawn with the carelessness of the artizans by the use of wooden framing when iron can be adopted. The roof of Chartres Cathedral was burnt off about a quarter of a century since, and the church itself had a narrow escape. In consequence, the architect who superintended the repairs had the good sense to make his new roof of iron. M. Zwirner is doing the same at Cologne; and I have, I own, very little sympathy with the antiquarianism which would venture to risk the stability of such buildings for the sake of seeing a revival of those vast complications of timber-work which were undoubtedly very clever, but which were never intended to be seen, and for which we are able to substitute a material which is lighter, more flexible, more powerful, cheaper, and more indestructible.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERNAL DECORATION — MONUMENTS.

The progress of architectural art in England — Constructive coloration a compensation for simplicity of plan in modern cathedrals — Climatic reasons for internal monuments — Use of the apsidal aisle for internal monuments — Grim metal statues in London — High tombs in cathedrals.

THE cathedral such as I have been contemplating might be constructed of the cheapest materials and with the simplest details, and yet might from its size and character be an imposing pile. But it is equally susceptible (if means and inclination are favorable) of the richest architecture and the most sumptuous decoration: and in that noble rivalry with the cathedrals of ancient days which I dare to claim for it, it can and it ought to avail itself of every aid which the science and the resources of our generation have placed at its disposal. The philosophy of architectural ornamentation is continually being more deeply sifted, and a sound eclecticism is widening its area of choice. The application of coloured material—marble, brick, and so on—both to the main features and the decorative details of buildings, is every day coming into vogue with a fulness which never could have been compassed while the steam-engine was still unknown. A few years since those who, like myself,

were in the van of this movement for “polychromatic architecture,” or for “constructive coloration” (according as the question was viewed from the one side or the other), had to give our reasons, and had to prove our opportunities: now we are almost overwhelmed with success. Architects, Gothic, Italian, “Victorian”—sacred and profane—are all vying with each other who can produce most red brick, and yellow brick, and black brick, most granite, serpentine, and encaustic tiles all over their buildings; while quarries at the Lizard Point and at Peterhead have become lucrative properties. It is well that it should be so. There may be here and there exuberance, if not extravagance; but this is only the natural recoil from the malebolge of stock-brick and cement in which we had been so long wandering. I have almost now to address a caution in another direction, and to remind the man who is planning a Gothic interior that there is such a thing as a paint-pot, and that, while constructive coloration may rightly be his staple, there were brave men of old who have left immortal achievements traced by their brushes in the higher branches of pictorial decoration. Mr. Dyce has shown us what fresco can do to the glory of God, at All Saints’, Margaret Street, while the groined chancel-roof of the same church, adorned by his learned and skilful fancy, is a work no whit inferior to the vault of S. Jacques at Liège, or of Sta. Anastasia at Verona, and produced by a far more durable process. Mosaic—the most ancient and the most eternal system of pictorial art in Christian churches—has hitherto been a stranger to

England ; but mosaic pictures are in contemplation at St. Paul's. The church at Haley Hill, Halifax, due to Mr. Akroyd's munificence and to Mr. Scott's skill, is full not only of the painter's and the constructive decorator's, but of the sculptor's art, inside and out. Carvers in stone and wood are ever making fresh progress, both in their own handiness and in the respect which they enjoy ; workers in metals and enamellers of tiles are rising in general estimation ; glass-painting, which used to be reckoned among the lost arts, is not only found again, but found in a state of constant advance towards artistic perfection.

Above all, the unity of all art is beginning to be practically recognised. The architect, the painter, and the sculptor no longer selfishly pursue their own independent professions, as if they were rivals and antagonists, but they either of themselves borrow from time to time their neighbours' craft, or else they combine together—while each adheres to his own department—to complete those works whose failure or whose success depends upon the combination. Giotto, it is at last recollected, both painted and built ; and Michael Angelo was sculptor, painter, and architect.

In one word, ecclesiastical and indeed all architecture in England is at this moment working out for itself that lesson which the equalising effects of science now enable northern regions to learn to an extent which used to be only allowed to the warmer south—that of the fusion of construction and decoration in the variety of materials, natural and artificial, and

the contrast of their forms and colours. It is the experimental adoption of this system which makes the broad distinction between the more meritorious new churches of the ten last years and their predecessors built within the ten preceding years. Accordingly I anticipate that our new cathedral will show still more complete and gorgeous developements of English polychromatic architecture than we have yet beheld. I go further, and I say that it is to the successful working out of this element of beauty that I look in the new cathedral as the compensating æsthetic advantage for the disuse of those constructional features—those double aisles and fringing chapels—of the old cathedral which, with all their grandeur and their loveliness, can find no place in our purer and simpler system.

In connection with these considerations I must revert to the eastern apsidal aisle. I have already said that there was one use for which the aisle, carried completely round the choir, would be peculiarly appropriate, while I reserved for the moment entering further into the question. This use is the reception of monuments. Indeed, the successful design for the memorial church at Constantinople proposed the eastern aisle as a fitting place for monuments, and the judges accepted the suggestion with approbation. As will be seen, that church, in the somewhat reduced form in which it was last cast, still retains this feature. We all know that intramural and intra-ecclesiastical interment is now illegal, except in those rare instances for which a

cathedral is peculiarly appropriate—the cases, for instance, of a Stephenson, a Macaulay, a Barry, or a Dundonald.* But with the interdiction of burial in church has grown up what, in the language of the day, may be called the “rehabilitation” of the cenotaph, particularly in cathedrals. It has been felt that, if a man has deserved sufficiently well of his country or his friends to have a monument, that monument may as well stand within sound of the Church prayers as of the crack of whips or the railway whistle. As a mere question of climate, no statue can in the long-run resist the atmosphere of an English town, except one of metal; and it requires very high art to prevent a metal statue from looking grim. Whether or not George III. in Cockspur Street, and George IV., Jenner, Nelson, and Napier in Trafalgar Square, the Duke at Constitution Hill and the Royal Exchange, Sir Robert Peel in Cheapside, and the Dukes of York and Kent in Waterloo and Portland Places, have escaped this danger, I leave to the decision of those gentlemen who have lately raised a controversy upon the inapplicability of Gothic to the highest branches of sculpture. The envious mantle which so long veiled the lady in Waterloo Place has hardly left me time to pronounce whether she is an exception to the rule. Well, then, we fall back upon inside monu-

* Dean Peacock himself lies outside of the cathedral of which he was the second founder, in the town cemetery, although the capricious indulgence of the actual Home Secretary has allowed the obscure relative of a former bishop of Ely to be buried within the church.

ments; and the man who dares to say that the church is not a fitting hall to contain the monuments of the wise and great and good, must be far gone in narrowness of soul. If it is so, what monument is so beautiful in form and so satisfactory in sentiment as the Gothic tomb, sometimes with the effigy recumbent in death—sometimes without the effigy, but bearing the symbol of salvation and the illustrative sculpture—sometimes with, sometimes without the fretted canopy?

For some years there has been a strong movement in favour of memorial windows in preference to masons' tablets—a movement due in the first instance to that venerable man, still living, Mr. Markland, and to his honoured friend, now deceased, the wise and good Dean Chandler of Chichester—of which I desire to speak with the greatest respect. It has done incalculable good both in what it has checked (namely, those blisters, hideous in their form, and still more hideous in their treatment, which have encumbered so many square acres of church-wall) and in what it has produced, namely, the general restoration of painted glass throughout our churches. But there are many cases where a more solid and palpable monument is desirable — a monument which will reproduce the man himself. These cases are most likely to occur in a cathedral, and for them we find a type in the monuments of our old Gothic churches—monuments like those, for example, which line the choir-aisles of Winchester Church. I am not now advocating an untried experiment. The number of monuments of the old type planned or executed in England

within the last few years would, if they could all be catalogued, result in a long list. I will only mention a few, and all of them monuments in cathedral or collegiate churches—some of them actually tombs, others cenotaphs. At Canterbury we have high tombs with recumbent effigies of Archbishop Howley, Bishop Broughton, and Dean Lyall. At Westminster, Bishop Monk is commemorated by a brass. St. Paul's Cathedral holds in its crypt the colossal granite coffin of the Duke of Wellington, standing in a sepulchral chapel, very solemnly arranged by Mr. Penrose; while Lord John Manners, acting in concert with the Dean, showed great courage and judgment in turning the unlucky competition for the same great man's above-ground cenotaph into the means of utilising a now purposeless chapel, and of carrying out a design in which the old notion of a tomb had been by Mr. Stevens adapted to the architecture of the cathedral. The same church is soon to see in its choir-aisles another high tomb, with the effigy rightly disposed, to Bishop Blomfield, which Mr. Richmond, heretofore distinguished in painting, most spiritedly won in a competition where he was pitted against professed sculptors. I need only advert to the tomb recently erected by the Queen to the Duchess of Gloucester in St. George's Chapel, designed by Mr. Scott, with its inlaid cross of brass, and its panels of the Works of Mercy by Mr. Theed. In reference to Dr. Mill's monument at Ely, designed by Mr. Scott, and carried out by Mr. Philip, I must call attention to the process adopted in the production of the

bronze image—the electrotype, which has been proved capable of reproducing life-sized statues: a process also employed in the life-sized statues of Wellington's chief lieutenants by Mr. Theed in the exterior niches of the Wellington College. I see in this new process the germ of an infinite developement of art, of which our cathedral-builders will not, I trust, forget to avail themselves. Not only must it render statues and reliefs cheaper and easier, but it may actually enhance their artistic value, for an electrotype would be cast straight from the master's clay, while the stone or marble statue has been pegged and roughed out by his journeymen. Modern high tombs under canopies occur in Chichester and Lincoln Cathedrals. At Lichfield Mr. Street has carried out a cenotaph, beautifully sculptured, to Archdeacon Hodson, recessed in the wall of the south choir-aisle. Opposite to this tomb, in the same aisle, but under the arcade and backed by the stalls, will soon be raised the still more striking cenotaph, by the same architect, to Archdeacon Hodson's son, that gallant horseman to whom the Great Mogul succumbed. A drawing of this able design was shown at the Royal Academy last year. An upright mural cross in the same cathedral to another soldier is not so successful; while, not many years ago, yet another military memorial, also in Lichfield Cathedral, exalted that certainly not peculiarly Christian emblem the sphinx. I promised not to travel out of cathedral monuments, but I must make one exception, on account of the originality of the conception. A few years since the old church at

Brighton was restored by Carpenter, at the close of his life, and it was made a condition that the work was to be partly memorial to the Duke of Wellington, and that the chapel to the south of the chancel should contain a specific monument of the hero. The notion adopted was equally original and successful, and strongly characteristic of the graceful fancy of its originator—a small monumental cross, of more delicate design than an external one would have been, and hexagonal in lieu of octagonal, still further to mark the difference. If internal cenotaphs are multiplied, an architect may some day be grateful for hints towards diversity of treatment, although the recumbent effigy must always continue lord of the ascendant.

I need not multiply instances in proof of my allegation. I have already hinted at the desirability of treating the nave aisles more as passages than for purposes of congregational accommodation; but even if this use of them would rather interfere with the practicability of employing them for monuments, except for such as were wholly recessed in the wall, no such objection would apply to the choir aisles; and here accordingly we have a further reason, of a most practical nature, for the adoption in our cathedrals of the chevet.

CHAPTER VIII.

ACCESSORY BUILDINGS AND PRACTICAL MEANS OF USEFULNESS — EASY EXTENSION OF THE EPISCOPATE — CONCLUSION.

Bishop Daniel Wilson's 'Uses of Cathedrals' — Schools and institutions in connection with cathedrals — Close and chapter-house — Commission of 1852 — Collegiate churches — Plurality titles — Desirability of bestowing them in anticipation of division of sees — Easy creation of new chapters — Cathedrals the correlatives of the growing feeling for size and numbers — Cathedral system the combination of co-operative evangelization and hallowed art — Conclusion.

I HAVE up to this point been rigidly adhering to the considerations which arise out of the fabric of the cathedral church itself; but the cathedral church, as all know, is only an element, though the most important, of the cathedral institution, and that institution requires various accessory buildings, out of which the general reader will probably name, in the first instance, the Bishop's palace and the Dean's and Canons' houses. But lodging its dignitaries is not the only function of that august institution, which can only operate by being represented and embodied in outward form. Many are the "Uses of Cathedrals," to borrow from a paper with that title which was put out by the late Bishop of Calcutta, under date of October, 1841, while maturing his conception of the metropolitical Church of India. The "cathedral clergy acted as assessors with the Bishop in ecclesiastical jurisdic-

tion ;” “ they constituted also the Bishop’s Council.” “ Again, they were nurseries for sound theological learning ;” and “ assisted in the education in divinity of the young deacons and students.” Once more, “ they formed so many advisers and helpers in all religious and benevolent designs in the cathedral city and neighbourhood.” Also they “ formed a body or corporation for receiving and managing, to the best advantage, benefactions, legacies, and trusts. The cathedral benefices themselves constituted rewards for the most pious and laborious clergy.” “ In short, the cathedral with its clergy were the outworks of Christianity.”

Out of these somewhat abstract dicta — more abstract and dry from the abbreviated form in which I have been compelled to quote them—grows a whole crop of practical conclusions. They show the necessity of the chapter-house for clerical meetings, and of the cathedral library for the theological college, not to refer to the studies of the clergy of the diocese ; also, I may add, for the choir school, and—as an offshoot of that choir school — for the town grammar-school, at which a place in the choir might be and ought to be the *cordon bleu*. There are also training-schools for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, hospitals where spiritual consolation ought to follow upon medical solace, penitentiaries for the fallen, and houses of charity for those whose happier lot is to be saved from falling, and almshouses for relieving old age. Then again, in every well-to-do town, there are or ought to be nowadays middle-class colleges and

schools both day and night, and poor schools,—adult, young, and infant—open in the morning and in the evening. There are mechanics' institutes and lending-libraries where religious and secular literature ought to be liberally blended. There are popular lectures in connexion with those libraries and institutes which require an organising supervision and a convenient locale. There are likewise friendly and savings societies and voluntary guilds, with their harmless paraphernalia and their meritorious spirit of co-operation. There are machineries of physical relief, dispensaries, and so on, all of which demand headquarters, and heads to manage those headquarters. These various organizations are the growth of a state of society of which the most alarming characteristic is, that great civilization, great activity, great resources both material and intellectual, can exist by the side of fathomless need of every kind both temporal and spiritual, and where the negation of Christianity is more dangerous because it is robbed of the gross and satyr-like repulsiveness of former ages. They will continue to exist whether the Church helps them and they help the Church, or whether they and the Church hold off, in coldness and suspicion, from each other. If the Church helps them, they will be outworks of Christianity. If it does not, they may become instruments either of that decorous and philanthropic deism which is a growing peril of the age, or of that unreasoning and narrow fanaticism which so unhappily helps on unbelief by its intellectual feebleness when pitted against it in

single combat. If, however, the Church does happily help their endeavours, it can best do so by means of some compact and well-adjusted machinery, with some conspicuous central motive power. This machinery and this central motive power can most efficiently be provided in accordance with the formal constitution of the Church. The religious institution which will undoubtedly grow out of rational and business-like endeavours to evangelize large populations, whether it is called so or not, will, in every large town, virtually be a cathedral, and it had therefore best be moulded openly and honestly into a cathedral shape. It is undoubtedly and unhappily the fact that the selfishness and rapacity of generations now gone by have made cathedral names, such as deans, canons, and so forth, frequently, and now unjustly, unpopular. It is the last thing which I desire to lose the benefits of the thing from the accidents of the name; and I care not, therefore, under what appellation the congregated clergy work; only I feel little doubt that one or two striking examples of real devotion on the part of bodies of clergy acting under the old denomination would go far with the essentially reasonable people of England to wipe out any imaginary old scores. I have already enlarged upon the choral element as a genial and popular element in a practical cathedral establishment, and I need therefore only allude to the particular value which it ought to possess in harmonising and elevating the other dependent institutions. It is my deep sense of its importance which leads me

to touch with brevity upon the highest spiritual work of a Chapter, that of missionary duties in the cathedral city and throughout the diocese. These duties, so solemn, so delicate, so tender, cannot be mapped out like the details of an architectural style in a short treatise. It is sufficient that the wisest of men has pronounced that a three-fold cord cannot easily be broken, to demonstrate that the co-operative exertions of a body of men must be more efficacious than the single exertions of each member, in a ratio far exceeding the simple addition of their numbers. During the last season I heard the Bishop of Llandaff, himself a distinguished cathedral restorer, who was called to the Episcopate from the Divinity Chair of Cambridge, dwell, at a public meeting, upon the necessity of some missionary organization as a supplement to our parochial system. If then there be a necessity for corporate missionary work in our Church, the incorporated missionaries would most fitly be attached to the cathedral as the central point at which, from the nature of things, the utmost facility for co-operative power must exist. Thus also any system of preaching in which the natural curiosity of mankind is made use of to stir the careless and to confirm the faithful, through the utterances of novel teachers, may be shaped into order and regularity as an occasional but recognised incident of the cathedral operations. The administrative business of a well-worked diocese, represented by the secretaryships and places of meeting of its various educational and religious societies, likewise requires its head-quarters.

The architectural inference which I desire to draw from these premises is obvious enough. Adjacent to our old cathedrals—whether to those, like Canterbury and Ely, which were once served by monks, or to the more purely and absolutely cathedral churches, such as Lichfield, Wells, and Salisbury—stood an extensive and beautiful close, which, in more or less of preservation, still arrests the admiration of even the most casual visitor. The various institutions can best be collected, where site and means are both propitious, in a close; and so our cathedral of the nineteenth century may, just as legitimately as its predecessor of the eleventh or thirteenth, display its cloister and its chapter-house, its library and spacious hall, and the long ranges of the accessory dwellings. The terms I have just used are terms of art, and no one need therefore be frightened lest I am recommending any unreal æstheticism. A “close” is an enclosed space of ground; till the cathedral buys it, it is a lot: and so, in counselling the adoption of a close, I only counsel the concentration of the cathedral establishment on one piece of property. The cathedral close of this century need not be so formidable an acquisition, because among the lessons which the few last years have given to our architects, that of the virtue of height in domestic and semi-ecclesiastical building is not the most contemptible. The rustic almshouse is no longer considered as the model to be followed in a town construction, nor is the multiplication of floors deemed an artistic misfortune. The houses, pretty but insignificant, which flank Mr.

Pugin's Lambeth cathedral were designed before this truth had been established. The stately schools which Mr. E. M. Barry has just completed in a clever style of conventional Gothic at the corner of Endell-Street and Broad-Street are a standing proof of the increment of dignity which conspicuous height gives to a town construction.

There is nothing magical in the name or use of a cloister. In the old times cloisters were built as shelter from rain to the community in their exercise, their meditations, and their transit from place to place. They were also retreats for study, with little nooks like those which Sir C. Barry has revived in the cloister-like lobbies of the House of Commons. Accordingly, it is an established fact that, in ancient times, they were very frequently glazed. On the use of the cloister itself and of the enclosed plot for burial I need not insist, for the current of general feeling and legislation will probably make its revival more and more impossible. Upon the whole I believe that any architect would frequently find that he best studied the convenience as well as the beauty of his buildings by arranging them so as to secure the accommodation of a cloister. When such proves to be the case, let him adopt one; but let him beware of constructing cloisters merely because he finds them in old cathedrals and colleges. The chapter-house, under which term I imply the meeting-room of the new cathedral, is an apartment in the arrangement of which archæology must bend to practical sense. The chapter-houses of the old abbeys and cathedrals were cere-

monial and ritual no less than business chambers. The occasions on which they were needed for debate were comparatively rare; but the monks, by their rule, were day by day collected into them for certain prescribed devotional exercises. Accordingly, their distribution reminds us as much of the choir as of the committee-room. Sometimes they were polygonal, and sometimes oblong. An ingenious theory has been propounded that the polygonal chapter-houses of England were appended to the churches of canons, in which their ritual use was comparatively unimportant, and their convenient arrangement for deliberative purposes therefore more urgent; and the oblong chapter-houses were built in connexion with the churches of monks, in which the former destination was mainly important. The single fact that the chapter-house of Westminster (a Benedictine abbey before the Reformation) was polygonal answers this hypothesis.* I believe the simple truth to be

* I trust that the report may be true that the Government has in view the restoration of this exquisite structure. I may be allowed to quote what I said on this subject in my pamphlet on 'Public Offices and Metropolitan Improvements,' published in 1857. "Cognate with this topic (the restoration of St. Margaret's, Westminster) is the restoration of the Chapter-house of Westminster, a building possessed of equal value historically and architecturally. Historically it is the cradle of our liberties, as the place of meeting of the Commons for centuries down to the Reformation, at which date St. Stephen's was surrendered to them. Architecturally it was, and might be made again, a building equal in beauty to, and closely resembling, the Chapter-house of Salisbury. At present it is used as one of the depositories of the National Records, and it contains the Doomsday Book and the gorgeously illuminated Treaty of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. This destination has led to its being disfigured by frightful presses, in addition to the horrible mutilation of its structure. What I should therefore recom-

that the oblong form was the original Norman conception, and that the Gothic architects invented the polygonal chapter-house. The half-destroyed Norman chapter-house of Durham was oblong, and no doubt the Perpendicular one at Canterbury was rebuilt on the old foundations, like the nave itself. On the other hand, the First and Early Middle chapter-houses of Salisbury, Lincoln, Westminster, Lichfield, Wells—the latter Middle Pointed—of Southwell, and York, and the Perpendicular of Howden, are all polygonal. But whether the chapter-house is oblong or polygonal, its structural stone stalls can never be devoted to modern uses without detriment to the appearance of the structure or to the convenience of its appointments. Even in cathedrals where the old chapter-house still exists, the corporation has a habit of meeting in smaller and more comfortable chambers. The “chapter-house” of the nineteenth century ought to be a hall of assembly, suitable for the assembly not only of the capitular body itself, but of those gatherings which will, I trust, every year be more frequent, of clergy and laity for consultative purposes, and of the various Church societies of the diocese at their periodical meetings. If there is anything in the *genius loci*, such assemblies had always better come off in some hall attached to the cathedral than in the

mend would be to restore it as a national monument, and then reserve it as the depository of honour of a few of those most valuable state documents of which every one has heard, and which might be displayed in glass cases with perfect safety to themselves, and with no detriment to the building.”

large apartment of a tavern or the county assembly-room. Tables and benches must accordingly be thought of before the rich carved work of mediæval canopies. The question of oblong or polygonal may well be left open. The Parliament of England sits in oblong chambers, the legislature of many foreign countries in rooms of a circular form, which might easily be polygonal outside.

I have already mentioned the various schools for teaching the choir, for training schoolmasters and mistresses, and for educating the future clergy after their university course has been concluded. The necessity for all these institutions has so often and so forcibly been proved that I shall take it for granted. But if it is granted, I further assert that propriety and economy alike indicate the cathedral close as the best site for their construction.

The considerations on which I have, under the last head, so briefly and so imperfectly touched, have in the main been most fully and strongly enforced in the three Reports of the Cathedral Commissioners appointed in 1852;* and although their recommendations have hitherto unhappily remained a dead letter, yet the importance and truth of these suggestions are in no way thereby diminished. The Reports themselves make a comparatively thin volume, but they are accompanied by an Appendix, a bulky folio of 841 pages, containing the statutes of, and

* I may call attention to a review of these Reports which I published in the 'Christian Remembrancer' for July, 1855.

a host of miscellaneous information about, the existing cathedrals and collegiate churches of England. Out of this vast deposit of information the facts may be gathered when the time comes to frame the various statutes of the various new cathedrals. I lay a stress on the word various, for, if the cathedral movement is to be a reality, then its directors must exorcise at once and for ever the noxious influence of bureaucratic meddling and red-tape uniformity. Staffordshire is not Lancashire. So the cathedral for Staffordshire need not and ought not to be cast on the same mould as that for Lancashire, nor the one for Lancashire be planned to be identical with that for Staffordshire. Among the recommendations which the Reports contain, I should attach particular importance to one for the extension of the Episcopate, illustrated by a statistical table of the English dioceses as they now stand, and as, on the other side, they might stand if enlarged to about forty, or, on an average, rather less than one for every county. In confirmation of this Report appeared a letter, which Mr. G. G. Scott addressed to the Commission, but which he himself preferred to publish independently of its Blue-book, recapitulating the old churches of England most suitable to be converted into cathedrals. My actual position is parallel to, rather than identical with, this portion of the Report. Indeed, I may say that it is slightly but not hostilely divergent. No doubt the presence of an old church which is fit to become a cathedral is a great inducement to the foundation of an additional see. But I cannot admit

that the existence of a population which calls alike for its bishop and its cathedral church is a less urgent inducement. On the contrary, the recasting with additions of the episcopate, with a single eye to the size of actual churches suitable to hold a cathedra, is liable to more than one objection. It looks rather like an acknowledgment that the *vis creatrix* of church-building is somewhat paralysed, and it confirms the unjust suspicion that the prominent idea in the minds of the reformers is that of decorating a fine church with a prelate, rather than of assisting a dense population with a regulating chief pastor. Wherever a new see is plainly demanded by the proportion of area and population, it is clear that some existing cathedral-like church had better become the cathedral—*e.g.*, there can be no obstacle to the claims of Sherborne Minster to become the cathedral of Dorsetshire, except the possibly greater convenience of Wimborne Minster; while Beverley Minster would stand unquestioned as the cathedral for the East Riding, if Trinity Church, Hull, were out of the way. But it is a very different affair to take the map of England, and to argue that, because certain Minsters exist, therefore those Minsters ought to be decorated with bishops.

The Commission was perhaps wise in avoiding any proposition to incur the double expense of planting the prelate and rearing the church. But, happily exempt as I am from official obligations, I dare to urge the claims of Liverpool, Bradford, and Birmingham, as not inferior to those of Southwell and St.

Albans. The responsibility of satisfying those claims is not for me to fulfil. If I point out the want, and, at the same time, contribute some ideas towards making it good, I venture to hope that I shall not have subscribed a contemptible contribution towards the work ; for in England, so wealthy, so energetic, and so munificent as it is, the knowledge of a want, and the knowledge of how that want may be removed, is a sure incitement for zeal and liberality to come forward with the material remedy.

“*Dimidium facti qui benè cepit habet.*”

London contains, though not in our Church, an example which aptly illustrates my position. It is a matter of public notoriety how small a sect the Irvingites are, and how fanatical the special principles are which they profess. But their fanaticism is that of clever and educated men ; and among their characteristics is an acute and business-like appreciation, however grotesquely and unreasonably exhibited, of the Episcopal and Cathedral system. In this and in other matters they exhibit (though, no doubt, they would repudiate so mundane an imputation) the eccentric, yet acute, and all-but-sensible influence of a man who just failed in being a leading intellect of the age, and, in just making that failure, became the fugleman of a wild enthusiasm against which his intense “irony” must constantly have been rebelling, while his intenser imagination sustained his allegiance to the system. Need I say that I am describing the generous, impulsive, honest, royal-hearted Henry Drummond ? Ac-

cordingly, the splendid liberality of this small sect has reared that noble cathedral in Gordon Square. What the Irvingites have done, the Church of England surely might perform within its vast and opulent area. Lord Lyttelton's recent majority, in face of friendly objections to his details, testifies to the growth of public opinion on the matter. In a distant county there is indeed a movement in progress which may help to introduce the thin edge of the wedge. The proposed bishopric for Cornwall is almost a standing grievance, for it was not only recommended by the Commission of 1852, but by the previous one of Lord Powis, to which we owe the See of Manchester, and virtually accepted (material possibilities excepted) by Lord Palmerston last year, which was rather more than he did a few weeks back in reference to a similar suggestion from Coventry. In the mean while, the generosity of Dr. Walker placed the richly endowed Church of St. Columbs in Cornwall at the disposal of the founders of the see. St. Colmbs' Church was a spacious parish church and nothing more. But Mr. Butterfield is at this time transforming it into a potential cathedral. The only alteration made in the nave is the addition of a clerestory, but the parochial chancel is, I hear, to make way for a new, extensive, and more stately choir.

If only one fresh cathedral were to be constructed in England during the coming generation, or if some portion of it were to be built, with the legacy to posterity of a grand plan, or even if what we are considering were to give a fresh impulsion to cathedral-

building in the colonies, I should feel confident that the free discussion of the question was not only desirable, but successful. If no such result followed, I should still think it neither useless nor unpractical. But I am unwilling to anticipate so feeble a developement of principles which are so surely, though it may be slowly, making their way. I have all through this discussion talked of the cathedral, dwelt upon the church which I have from time to time evoked as a cathedral, and enforced its cathedral character as the reason of its size and its appointments. It was right and necessary to dwell upon the model we had before us in its highest perfection. But there are and there always have been in the Christian Commonwealth churches larger and more important and more fully manned than the general run of parish churches—collegiate churches as they are called. To a great extent the town churches of continental cities are—wisely I think—collegiate churches. If we cannot, from political or other difficulties, build cathedrals where they are most wanted, namely, in our large towns, we can at least build collegiate churches, and to their constitution as well as their construction most of what I have been saying will be strictly applicable, while in due time these may become, what they ought to have been from the first, cathedrals. Of course, when I talk of a collegiate church, I do not imply the necessity, though I should prefer the presence, of a charter or of an Act of Parliament. St. Peter's, Leeds, for example, is, for all practical purposes, a collegiate church, although its staff are denominated vicar and curates.

But I will advance another step, and recommend a very simple measure of reform, which might, if seriously taken in hand, go far towards smoothing the way to the desired extension of the Episcopate. There is nothing in ecclesiastical law to prevent a bishop from taking his title simultaneously from more than one city. The instances of this practice throughout Europe are indeed most numerous. We have still in England a Bishop of Bath and Wells; and recent reforms have cut Coventry off from Lichfield to create a "Gloucester and Bristol." In Ireland, even before the suppression of the ten sees, plurality titles were very common, now of course they are universal: to quote one instance, there is the Bishop of Cashel, Emly, Waterford, and Lismore; while the next diocese is Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin; and in another part of the same island there is a Bishop of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh. In France, of late, many titles of the sees which had been suppressed under Napoleon's Concordat have been gradually revived as the adjuncts to those of the bishops in whose dioceses the old cathedrals stand. With these precedents then to guide us, there can surely be no objection or difficulty in selecting the towns which ought, under a more satisfactory system, to be episcopal sees, and in adding their style to the existing one of the bishops within whose dioceses they actually stand. Neither can I see any objection, where there is a church fit to become a cathedral, in giving to it that appellation. Bishops of Winchester (or London) and Southwark, or of Rochester and St. Albans, will

not cost more than they did with their single titles; nor will the churches of those towns take any hurt from the increment of dignity which they would receive. In the places themselves the step I believe would be popular, for no person and no place dislikes to receive a gratuitous increase of dignity.

The following list is merely proposed "*pour fixer les idées*," and only includes the names of towns which combine the double recommendation of a sufficient population in the vicinage, and of an actual church fit to serve as a cathedral. I proceed, as it will be observed, from south to north:—

Winchester * (hereafter London) and Southwark.

Chichester and Shoreham (*i. e.* Brighton, of which Shoreham is a suburb) for East Sussex. The division of this see would not be of pressing importance.

Rochester and St. Albans (with a prospective arrangement, on the separation, for a liberal concession to Rochester from Canterbury, so as to allow the Archbishop more time for his primatial duties).

Oxford and Windsor.

Salisbury and Sherborne (or Wimborne Minster).

(Gloucester and Bristol, already existing.)

(Bath and Wells, the same.)

Exeter and St. Columbs.

St. David's and Brecon.

Worcester and Coventry.

Ely and Bury St. Edmonds.

Lincoln and Southwell.

Lichfield and Wolverhampton.

York and Beverley (or Selby or Hull).

* A bishopric for the Channel Isles, now subject to Winchester, on the footing of Sodor and Man, might and ought to be created out of the deaneries of those special autonomies.

Ripon and Leeds. (If Kirkstall Priory, in the suburbs of Leeds, should be restored—which it might be very cheaply—it would make an excellent cathedral; otherwise St. Peter's parish church.)

Durham and Hexham (or Newcastle).

Manchester and Lancaster (or Cartmell).

I have omitted Westminster Abbey in the above enumeration, for, in spite of the advantages which would obviously follow upon the reduction of labour of the Bishop of London, yet there are equally obvious difficulties and perplexities which might follow upon setting up what would be virtually two rival bishops in one city. Besides, Westminster Abbey has its own peculiar claims to continue an exceptional institution, not subject to any see in particular. Indeed I should be glad to see its privileges enlarged, so far as to place the chaplaincy of the House of Lords in partnership among its chapter, and thus to emancipate the junior spiritual peer for his episcopal duties. The Thames is a physical, visible division, and St. Saviour's, Southwark, is a church yearning for a bishop. So I should constitute a separate see of Southwark, whenever money was forthcoming; and I should assist the Bishop of London by the assignment of a coadjutor who might partially relieve him of the physical exertion of confirmations, consecrations, and so forth. An Archbishop of London, with a suffragan in each metropolitan borough, would be another affair; but my prognostications do not extend so far.

In the above list, if it ever were to be carried into effect even approximately, much carving and changing of dioceses—not merely subdivision—would be neces-

sary. All that I pretend to do is to indicate the diocese in which the potential cathedral at present stands, and to suggest that, *ad interim*, the actual bishop should appropriate its style. Legislation of an enabling kind would, of course, be needed to provide for the honorary creation (if there are not revenues at hand to be turned to their use) of chapters and other cathedral institutions: not to allude to the endowment of the new see when separated. Crown or Chancellor's patronage (as it stands or by exchange) would be available for this object. The case is plain with regard to sees where the cathedral exists; but in the even more pressing case of the great towns, where the cathedral is still in futurity—the case, that is, which I have been considering all through—the machinery, though more lengthy, is not really more complicated. As before, the bishop has only to take the second title, Manchester and Preston, Chester and Liverpool, and so on, and the enabling legislation has merely to provide that, if a church of sufficient size be offered as a cathedral, it may be so accepted and declared to be the cathedral, whether or not the *bonâ fide* separation of the sees takes place previously, simultaneously, or afterwards. This provision would be in accordance with the chain of legislation by which new parish churches can now be accepted for that subordinate use. My purpose is to establish general principles, not to furnish the statistics which those principles would put in action; so I leave to another opportunity, or to other persons, to draw out the more lengthy and perplexing list which

this extension of my suggestion would involve. As neither politics nor polemics are my present concern, I sedulously abstain from even asking, what ought to be the form of such legislation ; only I must strongly plead for the simultaneous creation of a chapter, however sinecure for the present and gratuitous. Exchanges, as I have hinted, would easily bring the potential cathedrals, wherever they already exist, within the patronage of the Crown, and then the addition of the dignity of dean to their incumbents would be a measure of almost ridiculous ease and simplicity. In other cases, where the cathedral did not exist, or in which there were special reasons not to make a dean at once, the archdeacon, whoever he was, might be declared *pro tempore* head of the chapter. The canons, of course, would for the time being be "honorary." But in all cases the old canonical form of electing bishops, even for new sees, ought to be preserved.

If these premises be accepted, I should further urge that the creation of fresh cathedrals, actual or potential, need not be limited to the actual or potential necessity of fresh bishops. I have given instances of bishops possessing more than one cathedral, real or nominal, in different towns. I might, as a further instance, quote the Archbishop of Dublin, who has (not to mention the sees which have been incorporated with his diocese) two cathedrals, both in actual work, in his own archiepiscopal city. Nothing then, I believe, would more tend to popularise Episcopacy, if the matter were judiciously managed, than visibly to connect every large town with its

bishop by the erection, where possible, of his cathedra in some church there situate worthy of the distinction, and by marking the act by an addition to his style. There has, for example, been a controversy lately in the papers as to the comparative claims of Coventry and of Birmingham for the establishment of a new see to be cut off from Worcester. The truth is probably that there ought to be a bishop in each place ; but, if only one new see were created, there would not be the slightest difficulty in conferring on it the style of Coventry and Birmingham. Thus, too, if Lincoln were to be divided, we might reasonably hear of the Bishops of Lincoln and Boston, and of Southwell and Nottingham.

Here I close. I have been arguing the subject as a member of the English Church, and so I may have run into many discussions which are of inferior interest to my architectural readers. I have also been arguing it as an architecturalist, and so I have run into many other discussions which may seem technical and minute to the persons who only regard the question in its moral aspect. But I should much rather seem unduly diffuse with one section or the other than neglect either phase of this subject. There is little enough of true sympathy in the general world, however it may prevail between persons of the same tastes or opinions, and so any accident which may lead any one section of respectable thinkers to busy themselves, however casually, with the occupations of any other section, is an unmingled advantage to both sides. The

moral, social, and religious needs of our fermenting population are a vast and sad reality. The ecclesiastical architecture and arts of Christendom, varying in different lands and different centuries, are also, whether we care for them or whether we do not, palpable and pregnant realities. The spiritual requirements of that fermenting population, and the traditional forms in which Christendom has—for century receding into century—clothed its religious profession and its religious munificence, are both of them equally facts in history, equally phases of the visible Christian system, which we may attempt to depreciate, but which we cannot deny. To confront and to harmonise, however incompletely, however partially, these two facts, these two phases, cannot be a foolish, or a needless, or an unblest attempt. That attempt has been the object of this treatise. I have throughout been mindful of the axiom, *ars longa, vita brevis*. We are English, and English of the nineteenth century. It is enough for us, who are English subjects and English Churchmen, to grasp enough of art and enough of ecclesiastical erudition to bring that art and that erudition together for the service of that dear land to which we belong.

The advantage of co-operation is every day becoming more and more distinctly felt throughout the realm, while official centralization is, happily, not so popular as it may have been some years ago. Intercommunication is breaking up the exclusiveness of local centres, while it affords to those centres more extended means of mutual benefit. Our public works and our public buildings become day by day more

vast and more lofty. The giant hotel replaces the gloomy and obscure tavern, and the public library throws into the shade the few hoarded volumes in the corner. The cramped stage-coach, with its handful of squeezed travellers, has been annihilated by the train with its hundreds of well-housed passengers. The intellectual expenditure of artistic invention, and the physical expenditure of labour and material, equally characterise the structures of the day. Shall God then only be forgotten? Shall it be believed that co-operation is good and wholesome in the concerns of man, and dangerous in those of the Almighty? Shall we be told that we ought to make our homes and our town-halls, our theatres and our hotels, our shops and our legislative chambers, lofty and wide, glorious in painting and carved work, and glittering with costly materials, and that the House of the Lord alone is to remain small and mean, and served by single-handed impotence? I plead for equal justice towards God, with that which we show towards ourselves. I plead for co-operative exertions to save souls, and for a tithing of wealth and art and mechanical power offered at the altar of the Most High.

These two offshoots of Christianity, co-operative evangelization and hallowed art, make up that which I concisely designate as the cathedral system, and that cathedral system I consign to the sense and the conscience of my countrymen. I might, even within the limits which I have laid down, run into many further details both of architecture and organization, but I forbear, for my object is not to round off arrange-

ments, but to suggest ideas. If I have succeeded in indicating the general desirability of the work for which I have been pleading, if I have shown its feasibility, and met the most obvious objections by which it might be encountered, I am satisfied as far as literary success is concerned. But I do not pretend to seek a literary success. My ambition and my hope is that, when some future historian is recapitulating the material triumphs of English enterprise between 1800 and 1900, when he has told off the railroads and the docks, the Menai Bridge and the Britannia Bridge, the Palace of Westminster, the Exhibition Building, the stalks of gigantic mills, and those huge town-halls which our growing manufacturing towns are rearing, he may be able to add, This century likewise witnessed the foundation of the new cathedrals in this place and in that. I feel conscious that money spent on rearing and endowing such buildings in the right places will not be money wasted away either in a higher or a more material aspect. As an offering to the Majesty of the Creator of all good things, and as an expression of popular faith, they would of course witness against selfishness and faithlessness. But in the next place, they would, I am convinced, and I dare to say so, be eminently practical and useful. They would give to Christianity that of which the utility is recognised in all human enterprises—order, system, power, and magnitude of operation. The millions crowd together where work and wages call them; they toil and marry, and are born and die; they see the joint-stock firms of trade with their stupendous manufac-

tories created for their own scene of action, and sustained by their own industry. But whenever they have time to turn their thoughts to the concerns of their eternal state, the contrast is at once apparent. There, with partial exceptions, they never are confronted with any of those qualities which in their every-day life had arrested and held possession of their respect. Physical magnitude and self-reliant scope of co-operative energy are equally deficient in the lowly Bethel and the pinched Peel church, with its overtaxed perpetual curate. Neither of these is borne in upon them as an external power of which they may become component elements. All the while the artistic and the refined classes of society meet in their own circles and praise the old cathedral system of our Church, and the old cathedrals of the land, scattered up and down the ancient cities. To these I say very seriously, If that system has any reality about it, and the annals of all centuries of Christianity speak to that reality, if those buildings have any use or beauty beyond the sensuous exhibition of outward form, do not brand your own generation and your own country as the time and the scene of niggard faith, of outworn creeds, and paralysed energies for the great and the good. Be up and stirring, and plant the Gospel in conspicuous guise, with well-adjusted organisation, as the means sufficient for so great an end, where the throng is thickest, and God speed the work!

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